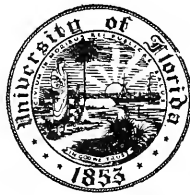


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The Jews of the United States, 1790-1840

The Jews of the United States
1790-1840
A Documentary History

Edited by
JOSEPH L. BLAU AND
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In Three Volumes
VOLUME THREE

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The Jews of the United States, 1790-1840

Part Seven

Christian and Jew

The foundation of the new American nation came at a time when the influence of the organized Christian churches was less than at any other period in modern history. In the United States, for instance, fewer than 10 percent of the population belonged to Christian churches. This does not necessarily imply that the influence of Christian ideals was weak; it does suggest that the institutional strength of the churches was at a low ebb. The operation of Christian ideals unhampered by the institutional interests of churches led to the formulation of a humanistic and ethical organic law, in which the sovereignty of the state was declared to be derived from its citizens, and the conscience of the individual was recognized as a higher authority than the will of the majority expressed through the law. To a considerable extent, though never entirely, religion was conceived as a personal affair, and, therefore, in no sense a matter of governmental concern. Under such a view, the coexistence of Christians and Jews in the same political community presented no serious problems.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tide had begun to turn. Institutional Christianity gained a new lease on life after the widespread revivals of the years 1798-1800. Not only did individual churches begin to flourish again but also national organizations, both denominational and interdenominational, were formed and gained adherents and contributors. Now, two views of the relation of Jew and Christian were simultaneously abroad in the land. One was the official American view that the Jew was a man, even as the Christian, and that, *as a man*, not as a Jew or Christian, each had the right to an equal opportunity to participate freely in the social, economic, and political life of the country. The other view was, if it may be so expressed, the "official" Christian view that the Jew, *as a Jew*, had forfeited his rights in the world by his failure to accept Christianity. Although, if these views be pushed

to their logical end, they are mutually irreconcilable and inconsistent, few people, then as now, did follow out the implications of their various beliefs. Thus, there were a good many people who believed simultaneously that the difference between Christian and Jew was a trivial matter beside their common humanity, and that the difference between Christian and Jew was a vital and serious chasm, bridgeable only by the conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

Overt expression of both of these attitudes can be found in the documents, both published and unpublished, that survive from the early national period of American history. In the earlier Parts of this collection, many of the documents illustrate an ethical acceptance of individual Jews as fellow humans. In this Part, additional documents suggest that Jewish congregations were regarded as properly belonging to the community, so that non-Jewish leaders of various communities took part in dedicating new synagogue buildings, or a non-Jewish hospital gave a synagogue the right to build its Sukkah in the hospital yard. These courtesies were reciprocated on occasions; for example, when Episcopalian Bishop Hobart of New York visited England in the 1820s, he took with him a letter of introduction to the Chief Rabbi of England, supplied by Congregation Shearith Israel. A special case of freedom of association between Jews and Christians was the Masonic order; since so many Jews were members of the Masons, it was taken for granted that the procession at the laying of the cornerstone of the Savannah synagogue in 1820 would include Masonic participants. When David Nathans traveled through Western Pennsylvania as the Masonic representative, he was welcomed everywhere, and even given opportunities for private talks with the Governor of the State because of his Masonic affiliations.

At the same time that there was this high degree of intermingling of Christians and Jews, the revived organizational strength of the Christian churches led to a renewed emphasis on the missionary enterprise. So prevalent was the concern for Christian missions that Francis Wayland was given the presidency of Brown University largely as a result of a sermon in which he defended the worthiness of the missionary calling. Not all Christian missions were directed to the conversion of the Jews, but one of the most notable, the

American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, as its name suggests, had this as its chief concern. It is interesting to note that, when this Society applied for a charter in New York State, its proposed name was the American Society for *Colonizing and Evangelizing* the Jews. The legislature refused to sanction so explicitly sectarian a name, so, without any change in its objectives, the Society proposed the less offensive phrase "meliorating the condition of the Jews" as a substitute, and under this name received its charter.

It is only fair to say that the eyes of this Society were fixed more on the Jews of Europe than on those of America. It was those European Jews who were already partly convinced of the superiority of the Christian religion who were to be brought to the United States, settled in a segregated colony, and there permitted to work out their economic salvation together with their eternal salvation. There is no suggestion in the literature of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews that its leaders intended to devote any attention to their fellow Americans of the Jewish faith. Perhaps, it was their hope that the presence of a group of converted Jews in this country would lead to the effortless winning of the Jews of America to Christianity. Perhaps the reason was that in the freer cultural climate of the United States they foresaw no difficulty in getting Christian literature into Jewish hands and minds, and therefore saw no need for making special provisions.

At all events, the Society was not successful. Although it established a temporary community at Harrison, New York, and purchased land for a permanent settlement, the market for its ideas that its founders anticipated among the Jews of Europe did not materialize. Its proposals, however, and its missionary periodicals, with deceptive titles like *Israel's Advocate*, led directly to the production of an American Jewish apologetic literature, defending the Jewish religion and the right of the Jews to remain Jews, as well as occasionally counterattacking by challenging the credibility of Christian belief.

Nor was there any great drift out of Judaism in America in the fifty years with which we are concerned. Inter-marriage took a small toll; but inter-marriage worked both ways. It led to conversion to Judaism as well as conversions from Judaism. It is perhaps true

that the problem created by intermarriage affected the offspring of the marriage more than the participants, and that thus the effect of intermarriage in this period is not revealed until a generation later. Beyond this, the evidence available does not suggest that intermarriages were many at this time. There was certainly a literary problem, based upon such books as Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Miss Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*. Both these popular books raised the question of the propriety of a Christian man's marrying a Jewish girl, and this question became, one might say, more important as a literary attention-catcher than it was in actuality.

Finally, it should be said that in America the most prevalent attitude of the non-Jews toward the Jews was one of interest. Every magazine and newspaper of the period published articles or shorter paragraphs on Jewish subjects. These were only infrequently on American Jewish topics. More often they dealt with Jews in parts of the world very remote from the United States. But Jewish life in the United States was also a matter of general concern. When, for example, the Reform movement began abortively in Charleston, America's outstanding periodical, *The North American Review*, devoted many pages to a long review of the printed *Memorial* to the parent congregation and Harby's *Anniversary Discourse*. Unless the editors were convinced that this subject was of general interest, they would surely not have given it so much space. This attitude should not be taken too lightly, for it is one of the reasons why life in America has never meant complete strangerhood and deracination to the Jew, even though, in the technical theological sense, it has been Exile, *Galuth*.

CXIX

Protest Against the Literary Stereotype, 1827

Whatever the personal relations of Christians and Jews may have been in the United States, the literary tradition retained certain stereotyped conceptions of the Jew carried on from an earlier time or taken over from current British literature.¹ One of these pictures was that of Shylock, against which Isaac Harby² of Charleston protested in his essay on "The Merchant of Venice," presented below in extracts. It is interesting to note that even the less unpleasant conception of the Jew in Richard Cumberland's popular English play called *The Jew*³ had to be modified and moderated before the play was acceptable in America, though, as Harby suggests, Cumberland's talent at best was inadequate to overcome the influence of Shakespeare's genius.⁴

Harby's other comments on *The Merchant of Venice* make clear that he approached literary criticism from the romantic standpoint. This is an indication both of the advanced character of Charleston as a literary center and of Harby's own place in the currents of thought of his time.

226. ISAAC HARBY ON SHYLOCK, 1827⁵

Who, that has ever listened to the voice of Shakespeare, when his disciples of the buskin "shake the stage"; who, that has poured [sic] with rapture over his page, where all that poesy and all that human nature can teach, are to be found collected in one rich treasury; who, that values his opinions, and believes his characters the abstract of real life, that is not enchanted with the greater portion of this play [*The Merchant of Venice*]? The exquisite beauty of the poetry, the harmony of the plot, the charm of the comic characters, which always raise our laughter, the interest of the

serious ones, which irresistibly fix our attention, give to this play, a rank among the first productions of human genius. And yet, there is a certain unnatural atrocity about the character of Shylock, which renders disgust so prevalent over our admiration, that the effect of the whole is considerably injured, if not almost destroyed.

The happiness with which Shakespeare has interwoven the double plot of the casket and the bond, is not to be exceeded by the double plot of Dryden's ⁶ *Spanish Friar*,⁷ and yet, Dr. Johnson ⁸ has justly and severely observed, "the probability of either one or the other story cannot be maintained." When we observe in a drama, an Irishman represented as a *rogue*, an Englishman a *sot*, a Frenchman a *monkey*, and a Jew an *usurer*, we evidently are aware, that the author's sole object is to gratify the malignant passions of mankind. And such is the viciousness of human nature, that men are rather gratified than otherwise, at these national reflections. In *Macbeth*, in *Richard*, and even in *Casca* (in the tragedy of *Julius Caesar*), there are many atrocities of character, but there is also, an efficient impulse for their acts, which accounts, in some measure, if it does not apologise for their villainy. In the Scotchman and Englishman, ambition is the ruling passion. In the Roman, his personal hatred to Caesar is covered with the honourable mantle of patriotism. All this relieves the mind of the reader or spectator, from that absolute hatred, which otherwise would disgust us in the representation of these plays. But in *Shylock*, there is no trait of nobleness, "no redeeming spirit," which can possibly elicit our forgiveness of his bloody and desperate design, or give to his actions the plausibility of human motives. 'Tis all demoniacal and black atrocity. . . .

The "Biographia Dramatica" ⁹ (from what authority it is very careful not to mention) says, "The story is built on a real fact, which happened in some part of Italy, with this difference indeed, that the intended cruelty was really on the side of the Christian, the Jew being the unhappy delinquent, who fell beneath his rigid and barbarous resentment." Now we think this "real fact" to be just as probable, in one case, as in the other. But let us hear this accurate narrator and critic, give his reasons why the characters should be altered: "Popular prejudice vindicates our author in the alteration he has made!" This is a novel doctrine. A man of course is right in flattering ignorance, and nursing that very worst of all prejudices,

bigotry, which it is the duty of virtue and of genius to conquer and disperse. The opinion is almost too absurd for comment. Vile characters are doubtless formed in every nation, and in every sect, and the critic, if he had common charity, should have inquired rather into the probability of the story, than have asserted that such a personage as Shylock was more likely to be found among one set of men than another. He should have inquired, whether in Italy—in a country and an age where the civil and religious institutions of the government, and the prejudices of the vulgar, all combined to oppress and degrade the Israelite—whether, in these circumstances, a man, a noted usurer, would confidently enter a court of justice with a knife in his hand, and demand “the penalty of his bond” a pound of flesh! He might have reasoned whether it was feasible, that one whose ruling passion was avarice, would ever have affixed such a penalty, or would have refused the payment of ten times his loan!

Cumberland’s comedy of “the Jew” is, to the honour of modern taste, a greater favourite with the audience, than Shakespeare’s “Merchant of Venice.” But it would require another Shakespeare, and another scene than England, to make a character as greatly noble as Shylock is depraved.

The fact is, that *Shakespeare* wanted a story to found his play upon, and he met it. In the “Pecorone” of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino,¹⁰ both the story of the bond and of the rich Portia were mingled together. The great poet has elegantly substituted the inimitable episode of the *Caskets* (from Boccace)¹¹ for the sleeping draught of his Italian original.

In the absurd and unnatural courtship which “Richard III” makes to Lady Ann, in the horrible incidents in “Titus Andronicus” and in the whole cast of sentiment in the “Merchant of Venice” whenever “Shylock” is upon the boards, ’tis very evident that Shakespeare bowed his great genius to the prejudices of an ignorant age. Atrocious characters may doubtless be found in any nation and in any sect; but the most atrocious have motives for their actions, which if they do not excuse them in the eyes of the world, at least justify them in some measure, to their own consciences.

Boccace (in his first story of the tenth Decameron) does not specify the usurer to be a Jew, and Fiorentino, to give plausibility

to the unnatural scene, observes, that "Venice is a place where justice was strictly administered, and the Jew had his pretensions grounded on public and received forms." But where was the justice when the penalty was beyond all worth of treasure, and what "public or received form" ever sanctioned the deliberate seeking the life of a citizen? . . .

We can, however, notwithstanding these unanswerable objections to its *object*, enjoy, in the perusal of this play, the brilliancy, the fancy, the fire of the greatest poet of any age or country. But, in the representation of the *fourth act*, we confess we experienced the same sensations, that the great critic did in the concluding scene of "Lear." As Shakespeare wrote it, it is too horridly powerful to be viewed. Shakespeare, indeed, departed from the "Chronicles," which mention that *Lear* was re-instated on his throne by Cordelia. This conclusion has been happily restored.

In remarking upon the subject of *unnatural incidents*, we do assert, that the extrusion of *Gloucester's* eye (*Lear*), the strangling of *Cordelia* (*idem*), the burying *Aaron* the Moor, breast deep in the earth (*Titus Andronicus*), the entrance of Shylock into a court of justice with the scales and knife (*Merchant of Venice*), and some other *capricios* of the kind, are instances of the great bard of nature having suffered his mighty mind to be swayed by the passions and the false taste of an age he was destined to instruct and immortalize.

CXX

Poems on Jewish Women,

1823-1839

The sympathetic presentation of the character of Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (whether or not this character was based on Rebecca Gratz) ¹² altered the literary stereotype of Jewish womanhood. The first of the poems reproduced below illustrates the earlier stereotype. The women of the Bible are presented as a noble band, leading up to Mary, mother of Jesus, as the ideal Jewish woman. After Mary, however, the ideal was dimmed, and Jewish "females" were in an "abject state." Meantime the nobility of spirit had passed to Christian women who now were doing all they could to rescue their Jewish sisters. Scott broke through this conventional portrait with Rebecca (although her father, Isaac the Jew, retains much of the character of Shylock), and America took *Ivanhoe* to its heart. Mrs. Crawford's ¹³ poems on the Crusader and the Hebrew maiden are clearly influenced both in theme and in characterization by the new romantic view of the Jewish woman presented by Scott. There is one major difference; Scott's literary sensitivity led him to present Rebecca as nobly rejecting the opportunity of marrying outside her faith; Mrs. Crawford's feminine sensibility induced her to allow her "Hebrew maiden" to be willing to accept Christianity for the sake of love.

227. ON THE DEPRESSED STATE OF JEWISH FEMALES, AND THE RECENT EFFORTS FOR THEIR RELIEF, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF FEMALE CHARITABLE SOCIETIES ¹⁴

Daughters of Zion! from whose humbled brow
The glory hath departed, who in woe,

Deep solitude, and long-enduring night
 Weep, as when erst by Babel's stream ye pour'd
 A captive's tears, ye whom high prophets deem'd
 The brightness of that gem which God has chos'n
 From all the earth for his peculiar care,
 The cherish'd beauty of the favor'd tribes,
 How are ye fall'n! How is the 'most fine gold
 Dim,' and defac'd.

Not thus your abject state
 When she who 'neath Mount Ephraim's spreading palm
 Dwelt, judge of Israel, when with heart inspir'd
 She rais'd the glittering spear, and war-like shield
 'Gainst mighty Moab, while her raptur'd harp
 Resounding strains of victory, woke the pride
 Of ancient Kishon. Not, when Hannah's prayer
 Had pow'r with God; nor when the seraph guest
 Gleam'd on *her* eye, who bore that man of strength
 Whom with shorn locks, and orbs bereft of day,
 Philistia feared. Not then when Anna breath'd
 Unceasing supplications, bowing 'neath
 The temple arch; nor when the wither'd arms
 Of the glad mother of that 'voice which cry'd
 In Judah's wilderness,' exulting clasp'd
 The babe of promise. Not when Gabriel's wing
 Descending, Heaven's high salutation bore
 To Mary, when her 'soul did magnify
 Jehovah;' when from her star-gilded cell
 Came forth with silent court and shrouded beam
 The Sun of Righteousness.

The path ye knew
 Of Him, that Man of Grief, who with meek heart
 'Came to his own, and they receiv'd him not.'
 Ye minister'd unto him, when he found
 No home, to which the rav'ning bird of night,
 Or the rude fox might hie. His chosen band
 Deserted him in peril, but ye stood
 On Calvary's brow, firm by his awful cross,
 When the earth rock'd, when the portentous skies
 Gave sign of horror, and the sheeted dead
 Forsook their sepulchres. You to his tomb,
 Bearing perfumes to strew that mournful bed,
 Came, ere the rising morn. Ye came, and wept
 Because ye found him not. Ye did not know
 Until angelic tones your grief dispell'd,

That Earth in her dark prison might not hold
 The King of Glory. Still ye bend and weep,
 Sad daughters of Jerusalem! but who
 Will heed your sorrows? On the lonely gate
 Of Gilead breathes no balm: no healer wakes
 The slumbering echoes. To the grave ye haste,
 Not where Messiah rests, not where the hope
 Of Resurrection soothes the trance of fear,
 Not where some pitying seraph upward points
 To an ascended Saviour.

Who are these!

Like angel spirits, clad in mortal robes,
 Rising to comfort you? Say! who can these
 In shining raiment, at the gate of death
 Diffusing light?

The Daughters of the Cross!

They seek the peace of Zion, they behold
 With sister's love the persecuted seed
 Of Abraham, "Friend of God." Haste then, arise,
 Shine forth, Oh Zion! for thy light hath come,
 And *He* who is thy glory shall disperse
 The cloud that covers thee, invest thy brow
 With its forgotten diadem, and bid
 Thy lyre no more reluctant, swell the song
 Of Earth's Salvation.

228. TWO POEMS BY MRS. CRAWFORD ¹⁵

The Crusader's Song to the Hebrew Maiden

Hebrew maiden, veil thy beauty,
 Lest my heart a rebel prove,
 Breaking bands of holy duty,
 For the silken chains of love.
 Look not on me sweet deceiver,
 Though thy young eyes beam with light.
 They might tempt a true believer
 To the darkest shades of night.

Hebrew maiden, while I linger,
 Hanging o'er thy melting lute.
 Every chord beneath thy finger,
 Wakes a pulse that should be mute
 We must part and part for ever;
 Eyes that could my life renew!

Christian and Jew

Lips that mine could cling to ever!
Hebrew maiden, now adieu!

The Hebrew Maiden's Answer

Christian soldier, must we sever?
Does thy creed our fates divide?
Must we part, and part forever?
Shall another be thy bride?
Spirits of my fathers sleeping;
Ye, who once in Zion trod,
Heaven's mysterious council keeping,
Tell me of the Christian's God!

Is the Cross of Christ the token
Of a saving faith to man!
Can my early vows be broken?
Spirits answer me! They can.
Mercy, mercy shone about him,
All the blessed with him trod;
We can ne'er be saved without him;
Christian, I believe thy God!

CXXI

Intermarriage in Literature, 1833

The question of the treatment of intermarriage of Christian and Jew raised by Scott in *Ivanhoe* had previously been considered by the British author, Miss Maria Edgeworth,¹⁶ in her novel *Harrington*.¹⁷ Miss Edgeworth, by a literary *tour de force*, avoided giving a direct and unambiguous answer to the problem that she raised, as critics were quick to point out. Mrs. Sarah Hall,¹⁸ an American writer, jumped to the defense of what she thought to be the answer implied by Miss Edgeworth's treatment; that, while intermarriages might occasionally occur, they were unwise. Mrs. Hall wisely pointed out that the free mingling of Christians and Jews and the American view of their equality as human beings does not mean that there is no difference at all between Christian and Jew.

229. "MISS EDGEWORTH AND THE JEWS," 1833¹⁹

The story of "Harrington," by *Miss Edgeworth*, has excited more than common attention, because it is stated to have been written to conciliate a particular description of people; one of whose members, "an American lady," had complained that her society had been harshly treated in the writings of that celebrated author. Harrington, the hero of this tale, is captivated by a young lady of the Hebrew stock. Both himself and his parents entertain violent prejudices against *Jews*. These prejudices, in due time, are removed by concurring circumstances; yet, her religion being an insurmountable bar to their marriage, it is suddenly discovered that she had been educated a Christian! and all concludes happily in the usual way.

One of our critics in the *New York Magazine*, after commenting with sufficient amplitude on novel-writing in general, and Miss Edgeworth's manner in particular, gives a summary of this fashionable tale, and concludes with the following remarks;

"Miss Mentonero is a lovely, sensitive, interesting girl, but she is no Jewess! and the whole fabric, which the author had raised, falls

before this single fact. By doing away this prominent impediment to the union of the lovers, she completely destroys the interest of the reader, and the moral of her tale. The mode adopted to dispose of the difficulty is a tacit admission that it could be got over in no other way. Miss Edgeworth is quite willing to allow the Jews to be very clever, good people, but it is pretty plain that she does not think a Hebrew damsel a proper helpmate for a John Bull."

We readily agree with this writer, that by removing the impediment to the match, she has destroyed the interest of the reader, but not, we hope, the fabric *she meant* to raise, or the "moral of her tale." Her design was simply to concede that Jews are like other men, good and bad, and this she has effected. But had she intended to inculcate that heartless liberality which supposes that conflicting opinions in the most essential articles of a religious creed, should be no impediment to a matrimonial union; she would, indeed, have betrayed an evidence of that indifference to all religions, with which she has sometimes been charged. She was perfectly right in admitting that "the difficulty" must be removed; but there was another, and but one other way, the sacrifice of their love to their religion. Had she finally separated the lovers on this account, our sympathy would have been sustained, and to the virtues intended to be conceded to the still venerated name of Israelite, would have been added, that tenacious adherence to their faith which we know they practise, and so long as they sincerely think it right, they are highly commendable in doing so.

With such laws as could only be performed at Jerusalem, the Jews are now obliged to dispense; but all that are practicable in their dispersed state, they piously obey. Had not this been the case, they would have been long ago amalgamated, like every other ancient people, with the Gentiles, and their very name would have been discovered only in their history. Their absolutely abstaining from intermarriages with any others than those of their own communion, is the principal means by which they are preserved in their separate state; nor can we see how two persons, each conscientiously attached to a creed essentially so different as those of the Jew and the Christian, could live together in that perfect harmony, which ought, at least, to be *anticipated* by every individual who enters into the most important of all engagements.

In the course of her work, Miss Edgeworth has taken occasion to notice the liberality of public sentiment, and the undistinguishing toleration of our laws in America. A recent opportunity would seem, indeed, to show that the former at least, must be very much at variance with the state of feeling in England. In all the conversations to which Mr. West's²⁰ celebrated picture has given rise in the last two or three years, we have never heard it intimated that the English critics had objected to the complexion by which the artist has thought proper to distinguish the High-Priest and his adherents from *their brethren*, the disciples of Christ.²¹ With us, it is seen with one universal feeling of surprise and disgust. There is not the shadow of authority for such a liberty in the Scriptures; and if it be adopted in the license of the poet, though it be temerity to differ with Mr. West, we cannot but say there is a gross absurdity in exhibiting in the same picture two groups of persons, all of *the same family*, and the same period of time, of opposite colours—the one white, the other black! *Friends* and *enemies* are very properly discriminated by the expression of their features; but no strength of passion, especially at the moment of its birth, can change the colour of the skin.

Miss Edgeworth has gone beyond the courtesy of either party, and proved too much, when she compliments us so far as to say, that "in America Jews have *frequently* married Christian women, and the wives have continued undisturbed in their faith." Page 137. She has been misinformed in this particular. A few such instances, it is true, have occurred; but in some cases, one of the parties has wholly embraced the opposite creed; and in others, they have evinced their total indifference to all religion, by suspending the exercise of their own opinions during the lives of their companions, and returning to it afterwards. In all the various intercourse of social life, we know of no uncharitable barriers between Jews and Christians in our happy community. Talents and virtues are alike honoured in both: but in the view of a more intimate connexion, many a youth enchained by the charms of a lovely Jewess, has breathed the vain aspiration of Paul to Agrippa, "I would thou wert not only almost, but altogether such as I am," *not excepting these bonds!*

CXXII

Congregation Beth Elohim Receives a Gift, 1802

The friendly and cooperative attitude that distinguished the relations of Christians and Jews in the United States early in the nineteenth century is exemplified by the interchange of the letters reproduced below. The limited resources, both financial and cultural, of the American synagogues at this time make it seem likely that the books presented by General Christopher Gadsden ²² to Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston were among their most valuable possessions.

230. LETTER OF PRESENTATION, 1802 ²³

General Gadsden presents his respectful compliments to Mr. David Lopez,²⁴ and the members of the Hebrew Congregation of Charleston, for whom he has long had a particular regard, and begs their acceptance of the five valuable books mentioned at the foot hereof, long since out of print, and difficult to be obtained. Should he live to see this day month, he will then enter his 79th year, the next door to fourscore, a period that cannot be far distant from that which is allotted for us all sooner or later to come to. What he intended to offer by will, he feels himself happier in having so favourable an opportunity, by his son, to present while living.

Leges Mishnace, 3 vols.; Moses Maimonides, 2 vols.

January 27th, 1802.

231. DAVID LOPEZ TO CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN, 1802 ²⁵

Respected Sir, I had the pleasure of laying before the congregation, at their late meeting, your esteemed letter of the 27th inst, together

with the ancient and valuable books which accompanied the same; and now feel myself particularly happy, in obedience to their commands, to transmit you herewith a copy of their resolutions, entered on their records, and to express to you the high sense they entertain for so liberal and flattering a memento of their esteem and consideration of one to whom the congregation confess themselves particularly indebted in repeated instances, and for whom they will ever retain the most lively respect and veneration. Be pleased, worthy sir, to receive through this medium the unfeigned and hearty thanks of the vestry and congregation of "Beth Elohim," who unite in a respectful tender of their sincere esteem, and a supplication to that God whom they all adore, that your days may be with happiness uninterruptedly extended to the limits conceded to men; and when that eventful period arrives beyond which no man can pass, that you, like the patriarchs of ancient days, may be translated with peace and in fulness of years, to partake in the mansions of the just, those tranquil enjoyments allotted as the reward of all, whose lives, like yours, have been employed in deeds of virtue and charity. Permit me, venerable sir, to offer you the tribute of my personal acknowledgments, and subscribe myself with sentiments of respect, your obedient servant.

David Lopez

President of the Congregation K.K.B.E.

232. CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN TO
DAVID LOPEZ, 1802²⁶

Mr. David Lopez.

Dear Sir, Your much esteemed favour, enclosing a copy of the respectable and worthy vestry of "Beth Elohim," in behalf of the congregation, I received yesterday. The very kind acceptance and honourable notice of so small an offering of the great and real respect I have long entertained for the Congregation of "Beth Elohim" cannot but occasion the most pleasing and heartfelt sensations. The very feeling and polite manner in which you have, good sir, transferred their resolutions, is also extremely obliging and acceptable. May the Almighty, the all-merciful God of the universe, bless, protect, and prosper the Congregation of Beth Elohim, is the sincere prayer of your most obedient servant,

Christopher Gadsden

CXXIII

Plan for the Dedication of a Synagogue, 1820

The land on which Congregation Mickve Israel of Savannah, Georgia, planned to erect a synagogue was a gift to the congregation from the city.²⁷ Dedicatory exercises took place on July 21, 1820. Recognition of the city's gift of land had been taken by giving a prominent place in the procession at the laying of the cornerstone, three months earlier, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Savannah. In addition, it is clear from the account reproduced below that the Masonic order was well represented on the earlier occasion. The plan for the cornerstone laying printed here from the minutes of the congregation was drawn up by Emanuel de la Motta,²⁸ one of those who founded Mickve Israel in 1790. The speech of Dr. Jacob de la Motta,²⁹ the volunteer spiritual leader of the congregation, at the dedication was a distinguished one.³⁰

It may be of interest to note that the cost of building the synagogue was met by granting the builder a lease for a term of eight years on a number of small buildings owned by the congregation. In the annual report of the Parnass for 1839, it appears that at that time, which was, of course, a time of financial depression, the rents collected by the congregation for these properties amounted to about \$160.³¹ The building, entered into with great joy in 1820, unfortunately was destroyed by fire in 1827.³²

233. A SYNAGOGUE DEDICATION, 1820³³

Savannah July 23d 1820

Committee met at Mr Leions, *Present* Abraham D Lyon³⁴ Parnass, David Leion,³⁵ Moses Sheftall³⁶ Sheftall Sheftall,³⁷ The Committee convened for the first time after the consecration and Unanimously resolved that the following ceremony of consecration be embodied

and recorded in these minutes and Recommended to be placed on the Congregation books as a memento of the time of dedication. *Form of Ceremony* The Congregation assembled in the lower Room of the free School and at five O'clock P.M. proceeded in procession to the new Synagogue, Doctor Jacob De, La, Motta acting reader on the occasion preceded following by Mr. David Leion and Doctor Moses Sheftall carrying under a Canopy the two Sepharim ³⁸ the Parnoss Goboy ³⁹ and Congregation Present following also in rotation the procession arriving at the door it was thrown open by one of the building Committee Sheftall Sheftall Esq appropriate prayers where [sic] Said and Psalms selected for Occasion where [sic] Sung accompanied by an Organ, During the Seven times that the Sapharim where Carried around the *Taba*.⁴⁰ The ceremony concluded by a Suitable discourse pronounced by Doctor Jacob De, La, Motta. After which the Evening Sabath [sic] Service concluded. *Resolved* and adopted that the thanks of the committee be returned to Doctor De, La, Motta for the arrangement of the prayers and for the discourse delivered on the occasion *Resolved* That a Letter be addressed to Doctor Jacob De. La. Motta Soliciting the manuscript copy of the discourse for publication for the use of the congregation which was unanimously agreed to. *Resolved* That a Letter of thanks be drawn up and sent to Mr Mason ⁴¹ for his polite Services on the Organ in Aid of the dedication, *Resolved* that a Similar Letter be sent to Doctor Kollock ⁴² for the use of his Organ *Resolved* that thanks be returned to Mr Adams ⁴³ for the use of the Room in the free School, *Resolved* That the Secretary be requested to draw up a fair copy of the proceedings in relation to this Committee in order that they may be laid before the congregation at their next annual meeting, The Committee adjourned Signed,

Jacob De, La, Motta
Secretary

Which proceedings where received by the congregation and the following Resolution adopted, *Resolved* That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the building Committee, for the very prompt manner in which they have met our views in the erection [sic] of a Synagogue *Resolved* that the Letter received from Mr Emanuel De. La. Motta recommending the form of procession to be used at the laying the corner Stone of the new Synagogue, together with the

answer of the building Committee be spread upon the minutes, Form of procession and ceremony to be used at the laying the corner Stone of the new Synagogue now about to be erected in the City of Savannah, Presuming that the Grand Lodge will be solicited to attend and aid in this Laudable undertaking, It being an established custom whenever a public Edifice and particularly a place of worship is to be erected, that a Masonic procession is most commonly invited Where ever a Grand Lodge Exists and where there is no Grand Lodge: a Subordinate Lodge or Lodges are most commonly requested to Join, Taking it then for granted that this measure will be adopted, The Hebrew Bretheren will attend at the Grand Lodge Room The other Israelites who are not Masons will assemble at some adjacent place in order to fall in with the procession, The Stone intended to be laid Will be sent to the Lodge Room previous to the meeting of the Grand Lodge, to be laid on a Cushion, to be borne by the Committee of the Building

Form of Procession

The Tyler with his Sword, Two deacons with Wands, Three orders Bible Square and Compasses, Stone on a cushion borne by Committee of the building, The person appointed to read the prayer composed for the occasion Two Deacons, members of the Junior Lodge in pairs, Treasurer and Secretary, Wardens, Past Master, Worship Master of that Lodge Two Deacons, The Other Lodges which rise in grade Will follow in Same order as the Junior Lodge, The Grand Lodge will form the rear of the Masonic Procession, The Mayor and Aldermen with their Officers, The Hebrew Members in pairs will close the procession on coming to the inclosure the bretheren will form a lane for the Grand Lodge Mayor and Aldermen to pass through pr[eced]d first by the Tyler, two Deacons, Three orders Bible Stone to be laid, The persons composing the procession Will arrange themselves round the Spot forming the hollow Square or circle as the Space may allow

Ceremony

The Grand master with the orders Bible and Stone arriving at the Spot where the deposite is to be made will proceed to examine the Stone using the Square Compasses &c as is usual on Such occasions,

Plan for the Dedication of a Synagogue 689

when Satisfied he will then deliver it into the hands of the Committee who will unitedly make the deposite. The person appointed to read the prayer, Will do in as an impressive a manner as possible first in Hebrew and then in English, A charge or address will then be given after which a Masonic Sign, With three times three will be given the following words at the repetition of the Sign, Will be said in Hebrew by the Hebrew Bretheren and in English by the other Bretheren Blessed ye the Lord Who is every Blessing, After which the procession will form reversing the order, to wit, Grand Tyler Two Deacons Orders Bible, Grand Master Grand Officers &c The subordinate Lodges by Seniority

To the Gentlemen Composing the building Committee
Respected Sirs,

At the instance of Doctor D. L. Motta, I have thrown on paper my Ideas relative to the procession and Ceremony to be used at the Laying the corner Stone of the Synagogue now about to be erected in your City, You Will perceive in the order of procession the Mayor and Aldermen are introduced, I take the Liberty to suggest the propriety of paying that body the Compliment which in my Estimation they merit from there Liberally donating the Site for the Building, however Gentlemen it is not for me, nor do I undertake to dictate its merely a Suggestion ⁴⁴ The whole of the plan is submitted for your Consideration With wishing most Consummate Success may crown your laudable undertaking Subscribe myself, Gentlemen

Respectfully your friend and Obt. Humble Servant Signed

E De. La. Motta

Charleston 11th April 1820

The Answer

Dr Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving your very polite letter under date of the 11th Instant addressed to the Committee for building a Synagogue, Wherein you have been So Kind as to Lay down an arrangement for the procession and a form of prayer to be observed at the laying of the Corner Stone I have the Satisfaction to inform you

that on Wednesday the 19th Instant the Stone was laid in form and manner you were so obliging as to suggest for our guide, The Masonic procession was very grand and it was attended by a large Concourse of Spectators of both sexes the day was fine and fair which added much to the Splendor of our heavenly undertaking, Permit me worthy Sir in behalf of the building Committee to tender you our unfeined [sic] thanks for your politeness in furnishing us with so excellent a System of arrangement on the occasion. I feel proud to say that our Synagogue is progressing rapidly and the Committee would be highly gratified if your health Would permit you to favour us With your Company at the dedication any information on the Subject will be thankfully received in the name of the Committee permit me to offer you our best wishes for your welfare and Individually please accept my highest respects &c Signed Abraham D. Lyon, one of the building Committee ⁴⁵

Savh. 25th Apl 1820

CXXIV

Interfaith Courtesies, 1823-1830

In 1823, the Episcopalian bishop of New York, J. H. Hobart,⁴⁶ went to England for the recovery of his health. The officers of Congregation Shearith Israel voluntarily supplied Bishop Hobart with a letter of introduction to Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell⁴⁷ in London. In his letter of acknowledgement, Bishop Hobart referred to his liberal sentiments toward the "brethren of the House of Israel." The extent of these sentiments seems not to have been as great as the good Bishop claimed, but he was interested in Jewish scholarship and was sought as a patron for works of theological interest. Thus, for example, S. H. Jackson,⁴⁸ a New York Jewish printer and publisher, wrote to Bishop Hobart, under date of December 17, 1826, asking the Bishop to become a sponsor and subscriber to "a literal translation of the Pentateuch &ca. . . . The work, you may rest, assured, will be executed throughout with a particular view of its usefulness to all parties and denominations of believers in holy writ. The editor will always, in the text, confine himself to the sense given by the English bible translation, and only in the notes, at the bottom of the page, give such other renderings as are controversial or supposed corrections, and without comment." Jackson continued by naming those leaders of Shearith Israel who could attest to his competence,⁴⁹ and made some general remarks on the interest of the Jews in keeping an uncorrupted text of the Bible, "supposing ourselves, as a people, the appointed guardians of the correctness of the letter of the holy scriptures." He concluded with remarks on the utility of his project to students of the Hebrew language, a repetition of his pledge that the work "shall be so conducted as not to be controversial," and an explicit request, "encouraged by your well known liberality," for Bishop Hobart's patronage.⁵⁰

234. THE RECORD OF A
COURTEOUS GESTURE, 1823⁵¹

The President Stated that having been informed that Bishop Hobart was about to depart for Europe for the benefit of his health had called on him to pay his respects on his departure but not finding the Bishop at home had Communicated to Mr. McFarland⁵² a Friend of the Bishops that if the bishop desired it a letter of introduction from the Trustees to Revd Rabi Herschell Grand Rabbi of the Jews in London would be prepared for him. Mr McFarland shortly returned and informed the Presdt. that the Bishop would be highly Gratified with a letter of introduction, The Bishop himself left with the Presdt. the following note

No. 1 Bishop Hobart called to express to Mr. Phillips⁵³ his thanks for the kind attention of proffering to him letters for London which he will with pleasure receive

Tuesday

That a letter was prepared of which the following is a copy No. 2

To the Revd. Solomon Hirschell Chief Rabbi of the Jews in London

New York 23rd. Sept. 1823

Reverend and Dear Sir

The Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel avail themselves with great satisfaction of this occasion to introduce to Your acquaintance and personal attention the bearer of this letter the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart Bishop of the Episcopal Church of the State of New York &c. This respectable and esteemed Gentleman visits Europe for his health and is desirous to be personally known to you. His learning and the liberality of sentiment towards the chosen people which has distinguish his ecclesiastical Career give him a high claim to the respect and friendly consideration of our brethren the *House of Israel*, and we have great pleasure in commending him to Your kind and friendly attention.

With our best wishes and prayers for the prosperity and welfare

of all Israel confided to Your Care we are Reverend and Dear Sir
Your friends and humble servants Signed

N Phillips

M L Moses ⁵⁴ Committee of Trustees K K S I

M. M. Noah ⁵⁵

M L M Peixotto ⁵⁶

Hazan Ve Neeman KKSI

And that the said letter was sent to the Bishop with the following
No. 3

The Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel have the honor
to enclose to Bishop Hobart a letter of introduction to Rabbi Doc-
tor Solomon Herschell Grand Rabbi of the Jews in London, they
Tender to the Bishop their best wishes for the restoration of his
health & his speedy return to his Family & Friends

To which the Bishop returned the following Answer No. 4

New York Sept 24th 1823

Gentlemen

I have scarcely time at the very moment of my departure for
Europe to beg you to accept for Yourselves & the respectable congre-
gation whom you represent, my acknowledgements for your atten-
tions the more distinguished & gratifying because unsolicited & un-
expected, Be assured you have not estimated too highly my senti-
ments of respectful & kind liberality toward the brethren of the
House of Israel, and with my best wishes, for you & their happiness
here & when they shall be gone to their Fathers

I remain Gentlemen Your sincere & faithful Friend & Servt.
signed

J. H. Hobart

Rev. Mr Peixotto Committee & &

N. Phillips

M. L. Moses

M. M. Noah

235. RESOLUTION OF SHEARITH ISRAEL, 1830⁵⁷

Sepr. 16th 1830

At a Meeting of the Trustees. . . .

The Trustees having been informed of the Death of Bishop Hobart Resolved that the following be sent to the Vestry of Trinity Church

The Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel have learned, with deep regret that Bishop Hobart is no more, the liberal principles and unaffected piety, of this estimable Prelate commended him to the esteem and respect of all denominations of Religion, and the Trustees take an early occasion, in the name of the Congregation they represent, to condole with the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the Corporation of Trinity Church, with his family and hearers,⁵⁸ in the irreparable loss which they have sustained Done in New York 2 Ellul 5590

CXXV

A Sukkah for Anshe Chesed, 1836

Although Congregation Anshe Chesed was founded in 1828,⁵⁹ eight years later it had no permanent home. Its services were conducted in rented rooms in a non-Jewish institution, the New York Dispensary.⁶⁰ These rooms, located centrally in an area of Jewish residence,⁶¹ were used at different times by several New York congregations.⁶² The occupant immediately preceding Anshe Chesed was Shearith Israel. At one point during Shearith Israel's use of these rooms, an interesting question in Jewish law was raised. It was alleged that the space below the rooms so rented was used by the hospital for performing dissections, and the propriety of holding services there was called into question. A decision on the question was, however, not necessary since the fact alleged proved inaccurate.⁶³

Another problem, related in the extracts reproduced below from the minutes of Anshe Chesed, arose because of the necessity for erecting a Sukkah in connection with the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. Fortunately, the governing board of the New York Dispensary granted permission to have the Sukkah put up in the hospital yard and allowed liberal concessions for "egress and regress."

236. A LETTER FROM CONGREGATION ANSHE CHESED, 1836⁶⁴

To the President and Trustees of The New York Dispensary
Gentlemen

The President and Trustees of Congregation Anshi Chased having rented a Room in your building for the purpose of Worshipping the God of Israel according to his Commandments & Statues [sic] and whereas on The Feast of Tabernacle (wich will follow on the 24th September next) we are commanded to put up a Booth for

the Congregation and wick is always erected near our houses of Worship

We in the name of the Congregation request the Priviledge of a Corner in the Yard of your building for the Purpose of erecting such Booth Covered with Greens for eight or ten days

As your zeal for Religion is well known to us and being also well aware that you are friendly Inclined towards our Congregation we trust that you will comply with the Request of Your Humble Sevts By order of the Board of Trustees of the Congregation

Joseph Aaron ⁶⁵ Secy

N.B. We refer the Gentlemen for the above Commandments to Levit Chap 23d Verse 42d

New York Augt 15th 5596 Correspd. with 1836

237. A SATISFACTORY ANSWER, 1836 ⁶⁶

Mr Fennell ⁶⁷ attendant of the New York Dispensary calld and Reported that I was ordered by the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Dispensary to Inform you the Trustees of the Congregation Anshi Chased that the Priviledge of Building a Booth in the Yard of the Dispensary is Conceded to them and egress and regress thereto through the Ladys Gate or through the Yard Gate

CXXVI

A Jewish Masonic Representative, 1826-1828

Throughout the early national period of American history, the Jews of the United States seem to have been welcomed as members and officers in the Masonic order.⁶⁸ The services of Moses M. Hays as Grand Master of the Masons in Rhode Island in the late eighteenth century are well-known.⁶⁹ A masonic procession has appeared as an important part of the ceremonies at the dedication of the Savannah synagogue of Congregation Mikve Israel in 1820.⁷⁰ In the extracts below from four letters written by David Nathans to his father, Isaiah Nathans,⁷¹ we see how this young Jewish Philadelphian found that his activity as a traveling Masonic representative in Western Pennsylvania opened every door to him. It is also interesting to note that he used the opportunity his travels afforded to take care of odds and ends of business matters for his father. At the end of each letter, David Nathans not only sent his regards to the members of the family in Philadelphia, but actually called the roll: "and accept of my Sincere affection & Love yourself ma, Brothers Jacob,⁷² Phillip,⁷³ Moses,⁷⁴ Saml.,⁷⁵ Abraham,⁷⁶ Isaac,⁷⁷ & Sister Isabella." ⁷⁸

238. DAVID NATHANS TO HIS FATHER, 1826 ⁷⁹

Harrisburg October 4th 1826

Ever affectionate Father

With the most pleasing Sensations and in the enjoyment of perfect health I now hasten to address my much respected and affectionate parent in the anxious hope that it will meet you and all the dear family in the Same State.⁸⁰ I arrived at this place on Sunday last when I received the three letters from You which afforded

the gratification and pleasure to my anxious desire beyond the power of words. I also receivd two letters from the Grand Secretary ⁸¹ one from Doctor Bryant and five others from different parts particularly one from a Brother at Conderport (as I requested) respecting Lyman which gives me very dis-agreeable and unpleasant information concerning him as respects our debt but as I will soon be home I defer any other remark at present in that case Since my last to You I have visited the different places as I mentioned and of course made all the interest in my power for Your Benefit. . . .

Immediately on my arrival here a number of the most respectable citizens calld on me and I do assure You it would have given my dear parent great pleasure to have witnessed the attention shown to his Son by the dignified and respectde [sic] Citizens of this State. The Lodge was Crowded and the applause given and Satisfaction manifested by all is beyond discription [sic]. You may Suppose I exaggerate but is really a fact. The Lodge met several times and again this evng for the Last time. This day at 2 Oclock I am invited to a Dinner given by all the Masons in this place in honour of my visit. You may Judge for Yourself the effect of my visit when the former lecturer was here he drew the most contemptible [sic] opinion on him. I have visited the various Publick offices and establishments and all the *Grandeeds* of the place. the most of the Officers of State are masons

On Yesterday I spent the greater part of the afternoon with Governor Schultz ⁸² at his house of course drank real good madeira wine there. He is really a fine man (and I will vote for him). I was introduced to him by his Brother in Law who is a member of this Lodge and who has great influence and who promised to do all he could for Doctor Bryant. I spoke one hour with the governor on that Subject. he informd me that he had considerd on it and also had (I believe) written to the Doctor on that Subject some time back. Particulars I will give on my return (the great-est objection however is the number of magistrates already in the county I however Stated Bryants Situation much to the governors Satisfaction. and done all I could for him. the Governor is not a mason but I have made this cause an interest with those who are or have great influence You may shew this or tell the Doctor but no Body else. I wish it to be Kept Secret (for certain reasons.

239. DAVID NATHANS TO HIS FATHER, 1828⁸³*Lancaster June 18th 1828*

Dear Father

In the enjoyment of perfect health [thanks to Almighty God] I again address You in Anticipation that those few lines may be received by you in the full enjoyment of the Same as also all the family. I arrived in this city this day and may probably remain here tomorrow. it will depend however on circumstances. from this. I procede to Columbia from there to Marietta (all in this county) and from there to Harisburg where I expect to be on Monday next. at which place there will be a Great procession on Tuesday next as the Hall will be then consecrated. . . .

My duties as [visitor] thus far have been attended with the commendation of the Brethern every where. I hope I shall be able to get through my visits in less time then I first anticipated. I expect I can . . .

240. DAVID NATHANS TO HIS FATHER, 1828⁸⁴*Harrisburg June 25th 1828*

Ever affectionate Father

I have been So busily engaged Since my arrival here that I have not had one moments Leisure and have not had time even to see my friends but those who particularly call'd on me The Lodge and procession has been the general theme. I had the pleas[ure] of Speaking a Short time With Governor Schultz and the Secretary of State with other heads of department who Joined the procession on 24th but have not sufficient time to call on them in accordance with their invitation. I Leave this place tomorrow morning for hali-fax and from there to Micks. I shall go to new Berlin and endeavour to do all I can with Amberg. Groves was here at the procession and informed me of the particulars I shall try my best. I have Still Some hopes. it will put me 11 days back on my Journey that is of no consequence as Soon as I get any Cash I will send it on I shall be at Micks by the last of next week. you perceive I am pushing on as

rapidly as I possibly can. almost done over travelling day after day and meeting Lodge after Lodge this very exceedingly hot weather.

241. DAVID NATHANS TO HIS FATHER, 1828⁸⁵

Pittsburgh August 28th 1828

Ever-Affectionate Father

I returned to this city on my Journey towards home. Where I expect to be Shortly Say a few Weeks. I shall leave this in a couple of days for Washington County and the different places at which I have to tarry on my route towards home. . . . Since my last to you from Meadville, I proceeded and visited the lodges Situated at the extreme end of my route. Erie, Fairview &c So You perceive I have pushed along very rapidly with as much Speed as possible, and if God Spares me I shall be home Sooner than I at first expected. I have been looking Out for a Good place for Business. but as Yet have discovered no place in which a fortune is to be made. Great attention is paid to me every where especially here my friends all extremely Glad of my visit as I calculate to leave this city very Soon. A Supper is to be given this evening expression of the regard and approbation maintained by them for me.

CXXVII

Conversion to Judaism, 1794-1837

There are very few recorded cases of conversion to Judaism in the United States between 1789 and 1840, except for some instances in which the non-Jewish partner in an intermarriage joined the synagogue, perhaps even without benefit of formal conversion procedures.⁸⁶ In other instances, the Jewish partner took the easier step of joining the church or, more awkwardly, each partner retained, as far as circumstances and the rules of synagogue and church would permit, his original affiliation. Of the documents below, the first contains a request to Congregation Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia from a woman who calls conversion to Judaism "the Greatest of all my Worldly wishes"; the second reports an investigation of the case of a young women who claimed that she had gone through the procedures for a proselyte. The committee of Anshe Chesed that considered the case decided that the conversion had not been completed according to Jewish law.

242. ANNA BARNETT⁸⁷ TO THE
ADJUNTA OF MIKVEH ISRAEL, 1794⁸⁸

Philadelphia November 13 1794

Gentlemen

Permit one who has not the Happiness to be Born a Jewess & Favoured Imediatly from the God of Israll as you are to Request your Attention to my Particular Case & trust that Nothing has been or Shall be Wanting on my part to Render me Worthy of being Admitted in Asociate of your Congregation & to become a Jewiss this I ask not as a Favour, but as a Right feeling as I do the [] of living up to the Divine precepts of the Bible, I am Ready & willing to Submit to Such Ceremonies as are Necessary to Optain this my demand the Greatest of all my Worldly wishes & may the God of

Abraham Isaac & Jacob take you under his Holy Protection & Instill into your minds to do what is Just & Right in his Light & Grant a Speedy Answer to this the Petition of your Humble Friend

Anna Barnett

243. THE CASE OF MISS MERVIN, 1837⁸⁹

The President stated that he had received a report from the Committee appointed to examine into the case of Aaron Abrahams relative to the supposed prosylitism of Miss Mervin which report on motion was read as follows

To the Trustees of the Congregation Anshi Chesed

The Subscribers appointed a Committee to investigate the case of prosylitism of a certain young woman Miss Mervin said to have become a prosylite to the Jewish Religion

Report. That said Committee have given said case due consideration, and are of opinion, that the principle part of making a prosylite according to the Jewish Laws consists, in having said Prosylite immersed in a fit bath in the presence of three men, who ought to be in the first place pious and learned capable of giving judgment in any case according to our laws, but if such is done in the presence of three men, though not learned, but men of moral and religious character whose testimony cannot be impeached, neither by moral nor religious conduct, such proselyte may be accepted, be it well understood that said three men must see him or her immersed in the water according to our laws. And whereas the Certificate referring to the above case which was handed to us to act thereon does not mention the names of those men who witnessed said immersion, and only contains the preliminary duties required to prosylitism. We under no consideration think said Certificate satisfactory to sanction it with your authority.

Moses Content⁹⁰

In behalf of said Committee

New York May 21st 5597

CXXVIII

Christian Appreciation of Charleston Reform, 1825-1827

The letters reprinted below are indications of the response of Christian political and religious leaders to the Charleston Reformed Society of Israelites, and more specifically to Isaac Harby's anniversary discourse before that Society.⁹¹ All three correspondents indicate their desire for more information about Judaism and about the reform movement.

Gilman's ⁹² review of *The Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites* and of Harby's *Discourse*, which appeared originally in the *North American Review* for July, 1826, and extracts from which are given below, was a most sympathetic, almost enthusiastic, appreciation of Charleston reform. It rises to a climax in the assertion that "the spirit of the age, like the voice of Jehovah will gently and irresistibly convert the present synagogue, with its obsolete ceremonies, its unintelligible language and its alleged unimpressive influences, into a more rational sanctuary. . . ." Keen as his appreciation was, Gilman was a failure as a prophet.

244. EDWARD LIVINGSTON ⁹³ TO
ISAAC HARBY, 1825 ⁹⁴

Washington, December 25, 1825

Sir,

I should be ungrateful, if I did not express my thanks for the pleasure I have received in perusing the "Discourse" you have been so good as to send me; a pleasure somewhat increased, by finding the most liberal sentiments expressed in elegant and classical language, in a book of which the title page rather led me to expect the polemics of a sectarian controversy.

Your subject is highly interesting, and one of your topics brought me to reflect on a literary desideratum, which it would be extremely curious as well as instructive to supply. I mean a history of the Israelites since their dispersion, tracing their different establishments, and detailing their adventures (for that word alone, seems proper to express the variety of occurrences and extraordinary events that have happened to them in the course of their peregrinations and occasional residence among the different nations of the earth.) Their existence as a separate people at this day, after such dispersions, such oppression, and such a lapse of time, is a circumstance which would afford matter for one of the most instructive disquisitions of philosophical history. It is to be hoped that your plan of causing the Pentateuch to be read and explained in the vulgar tongue, will cause the earlier part of that history to become familiar to those most interested in its events; and that the sublime and poetical passages, so profusely scattered through the sacred books, will one day animate some modern Isaiah to undertake the task.

I am, with great respect, Your most obedient ser^{vt},

Edward Livingston

245. THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ISAAC HARBY, 1826⁹⁵

*January 6, 1826
Monticello*

Sir

I have to thank you for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of your discourse before the reformed society of Israelites. I am little acquainted with the liturgy of the Jews or their mode of worship but the reformation proposed and explained in the discourse appears entirely reasonable. Nothing is wiser than that all our institutions should keep pace with the advance of time and be improved with the improvement of the human mind. I have thought it a cruel addition to the wrongs which that injured sect have suffered that their youths should be excluded from the instructions in science afforded to all others in our public seminaries by imposing on them a course of theological reading which their consciences do not permit them to pursue, and in the University lately established here⁹⁶ we have set the example of ceasing to violate the

rights of conscience by any injunction on the different sects respecting their religion.

I pray you to accept assurance of respect and esteem.

Th. Jefferson.

246. EDWARD RUTLEDGE ⁹⁷ TO ISAAC HARBY, 1827 ⁹⁸

Stratford Con. March 17, 1827

Dear Sir

From my being a fellow citizen of your's and deeply interested in the success of the reformed Israelitish Church, established in Charleston, I take the liberty of addressing you now, to request of you such information concerning your success and prospects as you may think fit to communicate. A number of my clerical Brethren in this quarter are interested in your endeavours to render more edifying and salutary the services of your church, and being aware of your catholic spirit, I volunteer as a medium of any communications you are willing to make on the subject. Reformation in church or state is always attended with difficulties, but the success which has crowned the boldest leaders in both these departments warrant you to proceed. It was my fortune in early life to be associated at several of your schools in Charleston with the Youth of your persuasion and while I rejoiced to find among them many of noble and ingenious minds, I could not but be struck with the reserve with which they conversed on Religious topics. The plan you have adopted, will do away, I think, [with] all this, and will enable God's children to express their mutual opinions with frankness to each other, and to listen to fair and honourable argumentation. Certainly if persuaded of the correctness and strength of our views, we should not be afraid to avow them.

If you can spare time to give me a few lines, I shall feel much indebted to you, and if you can send me any Documents illustrative of your present condition and ulterior movements they will be very acceptable.

My Brother, who was formerly a pupil of yours, informs me that young Benjamin ⁹⁹ of your church is one of the most promising Youths in the college to which they are attached.

Excuse this Liberty, dear Sir, be assured it results from the best

motives, none other than which could have induced me to address one to whom I subscribe myself.

Very respectfully,

Edward Rutledge
Rector of Christ Church
Stratford, Con[necticu]t

Isaac Harby, Esq.

247. SAMUEL GILMAN'S REVIEW OF
HARBY'S "DISCOURSE," 1826¹⁰⁰

We remember very few pamphlets of greater interest than these.¹⁰¹ It has, until lately, been supposed, that the minds of Israelites were so wedded to their religious peculiarities, as to be impenetrable to the spirit of innovation. Christians have been occasionally attracted by curiosity to the synagogue, and have observed in silence the singular rites and ceremonies which are in practice there. But as long as there was so total a want of sympathy between the faiths of the two denominations, it was hardly thought worth while to animadvert upon the external modes of worship among the Jews, however uncouth and unreasonable they might appear. Little was it suspected, that in the bosom of that denomination itself, there were any who were so far surmounting the proverbial prejudices of their sect, and so far imbibing the liberal spirit of the age, as to admit the possibility of improvement within their pale. Yet the publications before us are evidences of a spontaneous impulse towards a better state of things. The event, which they record, has been produced, neither by foreign nor internal violence or solicitation. What all the power and cruelty of all the potentates of Europe could never have wrung, by force or bribery, from the persecuted remnant of Israel, is now taking place under the operation of far gentler circumstances.

Many of our readers are probably unacquainted with the existing mode of conducting the services in Jewish synagogues. We will just hint at a few of their most prominent peculiarities, which may be sufficient to illustrate the account and the extracts that we shall presently borrow from the pamphlets whose titles are placed at the head of the article.

Upon entering one of these edifices on a Saturday, you behold

the assembly seated or standing with their hats on, and generally wearing an air of much greater indifference, than is witnessed even among Christians, during the season of public devotion. The priest, with a few attendants, is stationed on a high enclosed platform in the centre of the floor. As an instance of the little interest, which is exacted by the immediate business of the place, we recollect, that once, while we were fixing our attention on the intonations of the chanting priest, a highly respectable elder of the congregation arose and crossed the area, and taking his seat next us, began the discussion of a curious point of Hebrew phraseology; after which, he entered upon much more general conversation, leaving on our minds at last the impression of his being a polite and hospitable entertainer, rather than of what we know he really was, a devout fellow worshipper.

The whole of the liturgy is conducted in the Hebrew language, with the exception indeed of occasional portions, which, in some synagogues, it seems, are uttered in Spanish. This later circumstance is considered an aggravated enormity by the new party for reform. These Spanish portions of the liturgy are employed only for a particular purpose, namely, to express the amount of *monies offered* for the benefit of the synagogue and its institutions, by the subscribing members; thus interrupting the prayers and worship with the fiscal concerns of the establishment, and that, too, in a language unknown to almost all present. Whether this is a practice in all synagogues, we are unable to say.

The ritual consists of readings and responses in a kind of chant, or recitative, enunciated frequently with great indistinctness and volubility, now sinking into a low murmur, and now rising into a kind of nervous and violent vociferation. All this, we should have been willing to confess, is necessarily ridiculous to none but those who are strangers to it, if we had not perceived by the pamphlets under review, that it is regarded with mortification by many of those who have been, as it were, dyed in the very element of the system from their infancy and youth.

Owing to the rapidity of uttering the liturgy, it is generally finished in about three hours, though we are informed in an appendix to the "Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites," that if it were conducted with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct,

impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation from nine until two o'clock, if not later. During its repetition, the members of the congregation, except a few of the most devout, are seen coming in and going out of the synagogue at all times, and but a very slight check seems to be imposed upon the usual inclinations of the children. There is nothing in the shape of a discourse, or religious instruction of any kind, except, we believe, on a very few annual or occasional festivals. At these solemnities, some enlightened member of the body is called upon to deliver an appropriate English discourse.

We ought to remark, that that part of the liturgy, which consists in reading the portion of the laws, called the *Parasah*, is generally well read, devoutly, and emphatically. The rest of the service corresponds to the description given above.

In the hope of remedying these and other defects and improprieties, as they appeared to them, about a dozen members of the Hebrew congregation in Charleston, South Carolina, about a year since assembled and formed the Society, to which allusion has already been made. In two months, their number swelled to thirty-eight, and at the moment when we are writing, it exceeds fifty. Of the general character of the leading individuals, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is highly respectable. . . .

It appears from the foregoing extracts, that the standard of separation is not as yet actually raised. Should the society fail of effecting the reformation in the Synagogue, which they have at heart, it is understood, that their purpose is, by making personal sacrifices, and by soliciting subscriptions, to erect a new temple in Charleston, and to worship God in the manner which their consciences approve. They still hope, however, to escape this painful alternative, and by patience and reasoning, to prevail with the constituted authority, as well as the majority of the congregation, so that they may acquiesce in a peaceable, and at least partial improvement. How far innovation will eventually go, when once positively begun, we are unable to conjecture. We have heard it vaguely suggested, besides other things, that the new reformers among the Jews, both in this country and in Europe, have it in contemplation to remove their Sabbath forward one day, so as to

make it coincide with the day of rest of the Christian. But nothing of the kind is hinted at in the documents before us, nor does it come from any authentic source of information with which we are acquainted.

Wishing for some details of information to present to our readers, respecting the existing state of this interesting people, we applied for materials to the author of the Discourse under review. They were promptly and kindly furnished; but although they were intended as materials, and nothing more, we are persuaded the reader will be much more gratified with them in their original form, than if manufactured and moulded over anew by the reviewer's toil. We give them, therefore, as follows, with very slight modifications. . . .¹⁰²

The author is honorably known in the fields of literature, having published a successful tragedy, entitled *Alberti*,¹⁰³ of which the style is more than commonly chaste, and the structure betokens no small dramatic ability. He for some time edited, in an able and indefatigable manner, one of the four daily papers in Charleston; ¹⁰⁴ another being conducted also by a gentleman of the same religious denomination, distinguished for the solidity and extent of his views in political economy, and occasionally by the felicity of his literary criticisms.¹⁰⁵ Mr. Harby's discourse will much increase his reputation. It is conceived in a fine spirit, and executed in a manner altogether worthy of the occasion. There is solemnity, and a conscientious fixedness and elevation of purpose, apparent in the author's views. He has all the ardor and confidence of a reformer, to whom obstacles are stimulants rather than discouragements. Though, in the capacity of an Israelite, he betrays a becoming sympathetic indignation for the past sufferings of his brethren, yet he seems to feel, that the name of American is rather a more precious patronymic, than one of antique and foreign origin. Cherishing a bitter hatred against the cruel excesses of spurious Christianity he still has the candor and discrimination to separate it from the genuine spirit and precepts of the gospel. His passion for Christian literature, and susceptibility to the beauty of true Christian feeling, have softened his hereditary prejudices, but not affected his hereditary principles. He is a firm 'Jew inwardly', but is willing to ac-

commodate the 'Jew outwardly' to the conciliatory, compensating, and sacrificing spirit of the age. Some extracts shall justify our encomium. . . .

It would be but fair to state, that Mr. Harby's immediate opponents complain of him as wishing to expunge from the Jewish rituals a large portion of the Rabbinical contributions, which they contend are intrinsically valuable, besides being regarded as sacred, from long and reverent use. They further complain, that his party understand nothing of Hebrew, and so are unqualified to judge respecting the propriety or impropriety of any part of the ritual. This last conclusion may be true, but surely it only goes strongly to justify the demands of the reformers, to have the ritual translated, and employed in English. Then, if there be any beauty and merit in the Rabbinical illustrations, it would undoubtedly be perceived and appreciated, and cheerfully adopted.

After all, while our own habits and prejudices incline us to wish success to the new school of Jewish reform, we must not forget that there is something, which deserves our respect in the strenuous opposition it has to encounter. The existing institutions of this singular and interesting people are consecrated by tender and solemn associations of antiquity, and by affecting remembrances of the many sufferings, toils, and struggles of the Israelites of past ages. We do not wonder, that affection clings to those institutions as to the tabernacle, which accompanied the wanderers of old through the wilderness. But as the tabernacle itself was at length disused, and gave place to the glory, convenience, and beauty of the stationary temple, so we can not but be persuaded, that the spirit of the age, like the voice of Jehovah, will gently and irresistibly convert the present synagogue, with its obsolete ceremonials, its unintelligible language, and its alleged unimpressive influences, into a more rational sanctuary, to which the understandings of ten thousands of votaries shall eagerly resort to be strengthened and enlightened, and their hearts to be warmed, consoled, and purified.

CXXIX

“The Converted Jew,” an Affecting Tale, 1821

Wherever and whenever the story of the converted Jew was first told, by the 1820s, it had become a standard item in the repertoire of missionary activity. It had become a piece of folklore, and was reprinted many times, each time with a statement that seemed to guarantee its actuality. When published in *The Methodist Review* in 1821, in the version given below, it was preceded by a quotation from the *Religious Intelligencer*: “We heard the following affecting anecdote related at a religious meeting, a few days since, and have no doubt of its authenticity.” By the time of its reproduction, with verbal differences, in *The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church* in December, 1828, the authentication was much fuller: “The following affecting narrative has appeared in some of the periodical Journals both in this country and in England, and has excited so much interest and sympathy with the individual who forms the principal subject of it, as to induce considerable inquiry as to its correctness.

“One of our friends has been at some pains to trace out the story, and we are assured that the result of his researches, has been entirely satisfactory. After receiving various accounts, all of which tended to confirm the truth of the narrative, a clue was at length obtained, which led him to the person through whose means it was first published. The character of this gentleman is highly respectable, and he has politely furnished such data as place the reality of the facts, and the accuracy of the statement, beyond doubt.”¹⁰⁶

248. THE CONVERTED JEW, 1821¹⁰⁷

Travelling lately through the western part of Virginia, I was much interested in hearing an old and highly respectable clergyman give

a short account of a Jew with whom he had lately become acquainted. He was preaching to a large and attentive audience, when his attention was arrested by seeing a man enter having every mark of a Jew on the lineaments of his countenance. He was well dressed, his countenance was noble; I thought it was evident his heart had lately been the habitation of sorrow. He took his seat and was all attention, while an unconscious tear was often seen to wet his manly cheek. After service the clergyman fixed his eye steadily upon him, and the stranger reciprocated the stare. The good minister goes up to him, "Sir, am I correct? am I not addressing one of the children of Abraham?" "You are." "But how is it that I meet a Jew in a Christian assembly?" The substance of his narrative was as follows.

He was a very respectable man, of a superior education, who had lately come from London, and with his books, his riches, and lovely daughter of seventeen, had found a charming retreat on the fertile banks of the Ohio. He had buried the companion of his bosom before he left Europe, and he now knew no pleasure but the company of his endeared child. She was, indeed, worthy of a parent's love. She was surrounded by beauty as a mantle; but her cultivated mind, and her amiable disposition, threw around her a charm superior to any of the tinselled decorations of the body. No pains had been spared on her education. She could read and speak with fluency several different languages; and her manners charmed every beholder. No wonder, then, that a doting father, whose head had now become sprinkled with gray, should place his whole affections on this only child of his love, especially as he knew no source of happiness beyond this world. Being a strict Jew, he educated her in the strictest principles of his religion, and he thought he had presented it with an ornament.

It was not long ago that this daughter was taken sick. The rose faded from her cheek, her eye lost its fire, her strength decayed, and it was soon apparent that the worm of disease was rioting in the core of her vitals. The father hung over the bed of his daughter with a heart ready to burst with anguish. He often attempted to converse with her, but seldom spoke but by the language of tears. He spared no trouble or expense in procuring medical assistance, but no human skill could extract the sorrow of death now fixed in her heart. The father was walking in a small grove near his house,

wetting his steps with his tears, when he was sent for by the dying daughter. With a heavy heart he entered the door of the chamber, which he feared would soon be the entrance of death. He was now to take a last farewell of his child, and his religion gave but a feeble hope of meeting her hereafter.

The child grasped the hand of her parent with a death-cold hand, "My father, do you love me?" "My child, you know I love you, that you are more dear to me than the whole world beside!" "But, father, do you *love* me?" "Why, my child, will you give me pain so exquisite? have I never given you any proofs of my love?" "But, my dearest father, *do* you love me?" The father could not answer; the child added, "I know, my dear father, you have ever loved me, you have been the kindest of parents, and I tenderly love you. Will you grant me one request, O, my father, it is the *dying* request of your daughter, will you grant it?" "My dearest child, ask what you will, though it take every cent of my property, whatever it may be, it shall be granted: I *will* grant it." "*My dear father, I beg you never again to speak against Jesus of Nazareth!*" The father was dumb with astonishment. "I know," continued the dying girl, "I know but little about this Jesus, for I was never taught. But I know that he is a Saviour, for he has manifested himself to me since I have been sick, even for the salvation of my soul. I believe he will save me, although I have never before loved him. I feel that I am going to him, that I shall ever be with him. And now, my father, do not deny me; I beg that you will *never again speak against this Jesus of Nazareth!* I entreat you to obtain a Testament that tells of him; and I pray you may know him; and when I am no more, you may bestow on him, the love that was formerly mine!"

The exertion here overcame the weakness of her feeble body. She stopped; and the father's heart was too full even for tears. He left the room in great horror of mind, and ere he could again summon sufficient fortitude, the spirit of his accomplished daughter had taken its flight, as I trust, to that Saviour whom she loved and honoured, without seeing or knowing. The first thing the parent did after committing to the earth his last earthly joy, was to procure a New Testament. This he reads and, taught by the Spirit from above, is now numbered among the meek and humble followers of the Lamb!

CXXX

Christian Missionary Activities, 1819-1826

In Europe, a return to Christianity took place in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the excesses of which were, rightly or wrongly, regarded as the inevitable outcome of the free and enlightened thinking of the eighteenth century. In the United States, too, partly for the same reason, Christianity began to regain its strength after the revivals of 1798, often called "the second great awakening." During the next two decades, all sorts of organizations for the promotion of Christian objectives, often on an interdenominational basis, were founded and flourished. These included the American Bible Society,¹⁰⁸ the American Sunday School Union,¹⁰⁹ and, inevitably, a number of missionary societies.¹¹⁰ By 1820, both in Europe and in America, the mission to the Jews was being pressed on all fronts. Often much of the missionary activity in this field was carried on by Jewish converts to Christianity.

One of the most interesting and controversial of these ex-Jews was the Reverend Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey.¹¹¹ Soon after Frey came to America from England, he became involved in the foundation of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews (1820), an organization whose primary purpose was not to convert Jews but to provide for those who had already been converted (chiefly in Europe) and were therefore alienated from their former co-religionists, but who were not yet fully accepted by their new Christian foster brothers. The following selection from the ninth edition (1832) of Frey's autobiographical *Narrative* tells of the founding of the Society and cites the most important passage in the Society's constitution. It must be remembered that this account was written by Frey in his own justification, and like most self-portraits it flatters its subject.

249. FROM FREY'S "NARRATIVE," 1832¹¹²

Chapter X. Origin and Progress of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews

Soon after my arrival in this country, I received a letter from D. Marc,¹¹³ one of my converted Jewish brethren, proposing the establishment of a "*Christian Jewish Settlement*" in this country. From this letter I give the following extract, which, I believe, will be read with considerable interest:

"From the time it has pleased God to call me from darkness into his marvellous light, next to the care of the salvation of my own soul, was the salvation of my people, and kindred, that occupied my heart most. My prayer was for my soul and my request for my people. By mature consideration, I soon saw that we could not reasonably expect an extensive spread of christianity among the Jews, at least not a great number of true converts, until christians establish, or form, a christian Jewish settlement.

"There are many difficulties in the way of a Jew, by which the very first idea in favor of christianity, is arrested in its progress. Some of these difficulties are,

"1. The ungodly lives of nominal christians.

"2. The want of kindness among many who are true and sincere christians, but whose heart the Lord has not yet stirred up to compassion toward this afflicted nation.

"3. The dreadful idea to separate from a nation, whose distinct and lasting existence, as a peculiar people, God had so clearly promised, saying, "Though I make a full end of all nations, whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make an end of thee." Jer. 30:11.

"4. That brotherly love which he enjoys among his own people, but which he no where else observes in such a degree.

"5. The mere idea of going among christians excites in him a timidity indescribable.

"6. The greatest difficulty lies in the way of the poor. Where is he to seek for help and assistance in time of need? He stands alone in the world; he is forsaken by his Jewish brethren; and to apply to christians, the very thought is painful to his feelings; and from

their past conduct to Jews, he is apprehensive to be looked upon, nay, even treated as a self-interested hypocrite.

"All these difficulties might be removed by forming a christian Jewish settlement. Such a colony ought to be established upon plans well matured, with all possible precaution and christian prudence. The advantages of such an institution are many.

"1. It would excite the attention of the Jews in every part of the world.

"2. It would be the most suitable to carry on a friendly correspondence with the Jews on the subject of christianity, especially if it should contain a number of pious and learned men.

"3. It would be of great use to those Jews among the Roman catholics, mahometans, and heathens, who through the multitude of superstitions and errors, mixed with truth, and the numerous sects among christians, are at a loss, both how to judge of the truth of christianity, and which sect or denomination they are to join.

"In Germany, and in most places in Europe, the nature of the governments, and especially the prejudice of the people, is very unfavorable to the formation of such a colony, whilst America possesses every advantage for such an institution.

"In that extensive country there must yet be much ground uncultivated and uninhabited. There, where every year colonies of poor people meet with assistance and encouragement, might not a similar favor be shown to Abraham's seed, every where else oppressed and persecuted? *I ask, now, whether you would be willing to form a society of proper persons to assist in this undertaking?* The assistance necessary would be,

"1. To select and procure a proper place for a settlement for 200 families.

"2. To facilitate, as much as possible, their passage from Europe in American vessels.

"3: To assist them, in case of necessity, during the first year.

"This subject needs no farther recommendation to the true christian; nor will any be required by the philanthropist, who considers the barbarity and cruelty with which the Jews are oppressed in most parts of the world. Nor can it be doubted that, after so long and bitter a persecution, they would be most faithful and zealous

adherents to a country of so liberal a constitution as that of the United States.

"Assistance may be expected from the London society,¹¹⁴ as well as from other christian countries, especially in Germany, where many true christians, and persons of great influence, are ready to assist, with all their power, to promote this object."

Although I was much pleased with this proposition, and had but little doubt of its success, yet having already met with so much ill will, opposition, and trouble, in my former efforts to promote the salvation of my brethren, and having but lately come to this country, I did not communicate the contents of this letter to any person, but pondered it much in my heart, and spread it frequently before the Lord. However, the subject was pressed upon me by several other letters, the last of which, closed with these words: "I now call heaven and earth to witness that I have laid before you a plan calculated to promote the salvation of our Jewish brethren, and which requires nothing but your exertions, which, if you refuse, remember that the blood of our brethren will be found on the skirt of your garment." After this solemn and awful exhortation I could not rest. Immediately I translated his first letter, and resolved to lay it before "the board of trustees of the society instituted in Morris county, N.J. for promoting learning and religion," of which I was a trustee. On the 17th of April, 1819, in my way to meet the board, on entering Newark, I was overtaken by a most awful thunder storm.¹¹⁵ Having taken shelter in the house of the Rev. Dr. Griffin,¹¹⁶ I informed him of the object I had in view in visiting New-Jersey, and read the letter of Mr. Marc, after which we had a long and very interesting conversation on the present and future state of my Jewish brethren. The doctor, who is well known to take a deep interest in all benevolent institutions, manifested a peculiar sympathy toward the wandering sheep of Israel, greatly encouraged my heart, and became one of the first and warmest advocates of this institution. At the meeting of the board I was authorized to invite Mr. Marc to come to this country, at our expense, to act as agent in executing the plan suggested by him. Having communicated to him this resolution, and received for answer that he could not accept of this invitation on account of his previous engagements

with the London society, the Rev. Stephen Grover,¹¹⁷ of Caldwell, together with myself, were appointed a committee to consult with ministers and other gentlemen, and especially with the late Dr. Boudinot,¹¹⁸ on the expediency of forming a society for the purpose of colonizing and evangelizing the Jews.

In pursuance of this appointment, Mr. Grover being prevented from accompanying me, I proceeded alone to Burlington. In my way thither I called on the late Dr. Livingston,¹¹⁹ and consulted with him on the subject, who, after full and mature consideration, drew up and signed the following: "Having understood by a letter from Mr. —, a christian Jew, as well as by letters from James Miller, Esq. of London, that an ardent wish prevails among some christian Jews in Germany to emigrate to the United States, for the express purpose of forming a settlement, to obtain without interruption, instruction for themselves, and to promote more effectually the christian religion among the Jews; we, whose names are underwritten, do hereby certify, that as far as the object is at present comprehended by us, we most cordially approve of the same." Thus encouraged, I went on my way rejoicing, and at Princeton I called on the Rev. Drs. Green,¹²⁰ Alexander,¹²¹ and Miller,¹²² who after fervent prayer, and much serious deliberation, signed the preceding paragraph. I now proceeded to Burlington, where I was received by the late venerable Dr. Boudinot, with the greatest cordiality and friendship. Having submitted to him the proposed object and plan, together with various documents on the subject, and conversed much about the state of the dispersed in Judah, and the long lost tribes of Israel, he communicated to me his opinion in the following letter:

Burlington, Nov. 26, 1819.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,

"I have carefully attended to the important subject of our last evening's conversation. It is only to a part of your plan, that is of minor consequence, to which I have at present any objection. As I have but a few minutes to express my opinion in writing, your own memory will furnish you with particulars. My present design is to express, in as short a manner as possible, my cordial acquiescence in the whole of your designs, if pursued with caution in the

detail. My wish would be to revive, as soon as convenient, the late society for evangelizing the Jews, established in New-York a few years since. That they should apply, without further explanation, for a charter of incorporation, to the legislature at their next session; afterward a plan of further proceedings, and the appointment of the proper officers, may then take place, and every proper measure pursued for the effecting so useful and essential a business to the church of Christ; and may he bless you, in all you do, agreeably to his rich promises in the gospel.

Rev. and dear sir, Yours in our common Lord,

Elias Boudinot.

Rev. J. S. C. F. Frey”

With great thankfulness to the God of Providence, I now returned to New-York, and called on most of the ministers of different denominations, and invited them to attend a meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of forming a society for colonizing and evangelizing the Jews. They all promised to attend, and on the day appointed they fulfilled their promise, I believe, without exception. At this meeting, after a full discussion of the subject, it was resolved to have another meeting, and that every minister present was to bring with him two lay members of his congregation. Accordingly a large meeting took place, when it was unanimously resolved, that it is expedient to form a society for colonizing and evangelizing the Jews; and at the next meeting, held on the 8th of February, 1820, the society was actually formed, a constitution adopted, officers chosen, and I was appointed to apply to the legislature for a charter. Accordingly I went to Albany, where at first I met with considerable discouragement, owing to the nature of the application being novel in its kind, and radically different from other societies. However, having given public notice that I intended preaching a sermon on the past and present state of the Jews, a large assembly was collected, and a great interest excited. The very next day the subject was introduced into both houses, and referred to a committee. Whilst the subject was in the hands of the committee, some objections were made against the words “colonizing and *evangelizing*.” I agreed to the proposal of erasing both words out of the title, and substituting the word

"meliorating," and under this title the society was incorporated by an act passed on the 14th day of April, 1820.

The original title of the society, viz: "The American society for colonizing and evangelizing the Jews," was much better than the present; for it explained at once the object and design of the institution. The former was the means to accomplish the latter. The Jews were to be gathered into a colony, that there they might have an opportunity of earning their bread by their own industry, and at the same time be instructed and established in the doctrines and principles of christianity. But although the legislature, at the time of granting an act of incorporation, thought it proper to alter the *title*, (Appendix No. 1,) yet the original *intention* and *purpose* of the society is still the *same*, as is evident from the 2d article of the constitution, which reads thus:

"The object of this society is to invite and receive from any part of the world, such Jews as do already profess the christian religion, or are desirous to receive christian instruction, to form them into a settlement, and to furnish them with the ordinances of the gospel, and with such employment in the settlement as shall be assigned them; but no one shall be received unless he comes well recommended for morals and industry, and without charge to this society; and both his reception and continuance in the settlement shall be at all times at the discretion of the directors."

Although the society was now incorporated, yet two full years passed by without any attempt made to promote its noble object. The members of the board became very much discouraged, and for two or three successive monthly meetings we could not get a quorum. One day, whilst writing a letter to Germany, to propose as the last dying effort, the formation of a society to furnish the inquiring Jew with testimonials, a friend entered my study with the pleasing, important, and seasonable intelligence, that God had raised up a nobleman in Germany, who had established an asylum *as a nursery* to our settlement, and that his agent had arrived at Boston, with despatches to our society for co-operation. I need not tell you, nor is it possible to describe, the joy and gratitude of my heart. I laid down my pen and patiently, or rather with impatience, waited the arrival of *Mr. Jadownicky*.¹²³ In a few days he arrived. The agent produced his credentials, and delivered several docu-

ments expressive of the wish of Count Von der Recke.¹²⁴ The meeting was very full: tears of joy were seen to steal down the cheeks of some of the venerable fathers present: and the language of all was "now, in the name of the Lord, let us go forward." But what was to be done? Hitherto no assistance had been solicited. The subject was altogether new, radically different from all other benevolent institutions; the public needed much information, which could not easily be communicated by mere addresses from the press. An agent was wanted to travel through the country. Gladly would I have gone, but I was then under a promise to my congregation to solicit aid for them in the New-England states. This caused another delay of twelve months. Having fulfilled my engagement, by *mutual* application to the presbytery, my pastoral connexion with the church was dissolved in Sept. 1822, and I engaged as agent to the society. In my first tour to the south, during six months I travelled 2,305 miles by land, preached 196 times, collected about 4,600 dollars, and formed 51 auxiliary societies.

Thus I continued travelling as agent, for several years, collecting many thousand dollars, and formed more than four hundred auxiliary societies. The question has often been asked, in a variety of ways, and from different motives, "what has Mr. Frey done with all the money he has collected?" With pleasure I take this opportunity of replying; I have done with the money as every agent ought to do; I delivered it to the treasurer, and received my receipt. That this is the case will appear, first, from the following general certificate:

"It is hereby certified that the accounts of the Rev. C. F. Frey, as agent of the American Society for meliorating the condition of the Jews, were audited and settled to the entire satisfaction of the board, on his ceasing to be their agent.

By order of the board, W. F. Piatt, Rec. Sec.

New-York, March 12th, 1829"

And, secondly, from the treasurer's account, published monthly in Israel's Advocate, containing a list of all collections made, or money received by me and delivered to the treasurer, a copy of which publication was sent to every congregation where I had preached and collected. But if the question be asked, what have

the board done with the money? I reply, with deep regret, the board will have to give an awful account of it, if not to man, yet certainly unto God. As a director of the board, I have this testimony of my conscience, that my name is on record as protesting against their proceedings for the last two years of my attendance.

In 1826, finding that there was more than \$16,000 in the treasury, and nothing done for meliorating the condition of the Jews, I could neither see the necessity nor the justice of my continuing any longer agent, and eat the bread of idleness. I therefore resigned my agency and returned to my ministerial labors.¹²⁵

CXXXI

Elias Boudinot's Aid to Missionary Work, 1820-1821

In 1820, Elias Boudinot, whose distinguished career included the office of president of the Continental Congress and who was one of the signers of the peace treaty with England after the Revolution, was 80 years old. Frey's *Narrative* ¹²⁶ quotes a letter from Boudinot approving of Frey's project for forming the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. The two documents below, a letter from Boudinot to Frey and a section of Boudinot's will, probated at the testator's death in 1821, show that the elder statesman's support of Frey's missionary activities went beyond verbal approval. It is interesting to note, in the letter below, Boudinot's estimate of the effect of the depression of 1819 on support for missionary activity.

250. ELIAS BOUDINOT TO J.S.C.F. FREY, 1820 ¹²⁷

Burlington July 6 1820

Revd & dear Sir, Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have been confined the greatest part of my time by my disorder, but it has pleased a holy God to restore me so far that I am endeavouring to discharge my heavy obligations to my numerous Correspondents while I am capable of doing it. I was particularly engaged to know what has been done at the meeting of the Society in favour of the Jews, after the Evening I left you, having not heard a Word on that Subject, till I was preparing to write you a Line for that purpose when I read your favour of June 30th. But you do not mention any measures that were taken after the Sermon was preached, this I hope you will do in your next. I have attended to your interesting Acct of the young Hebrew you have given me. My Confinement

prevents my consulting my friends, who would interest themselves on such occasions, so that I know not what to advise you to do. The State of our Country, generally speaking, is at present, so distressing, that most men of abilities to do anything effectual on such occasions, are over done with the numbers of their friends who have been ruined by their late Speculations, & are cast upon them for daily support, that they cannot with propriety attend to those who are strangers. On this, Occasion therefore, the propriety of our Society ought to shew itself. If they are not in Cash to lend a helping hand for this purpose at present, it proves the necessity of their Exerting themselves to get subscriptions to enable them to do it. It certainly ought to be done in favour of the present applicant. I know it is a difficult time and most people of generous Temp[er], are almost worn out with Subscriptions of one sort or another. I should propose the making of the attempt. I will enclose in this, twenty Dollars to begin with, on his Acct.

I had foreseen this issue, and advised you to discourage any coming over that was not able to maintain themselves for one year at least, so that they might go at once on Lands that would be given to them, and at least be able to get food & Garment after one year. No other plan will answer, there being such a universal failure among our own people, that many of them are starving for want of the necessaries of life. Many people will give Land that cannot & indeed will not, appropriate what little money they have to strangers, and let their Neighbours & Acquaintances want Bread for their Children.

E B

The Revd Mr Frey, N York

251. FROM THE WILL OF
ELIAS BOUDINOT, 1821¹²⁸

And on this further trust, that whereas I have given some encouragement, that I would aid and assist in promoting the settlement of a body of Jews, who have been represented to me as desirous of removing from the Continent of Europe to some asylum of safety, if any should offer, where they may be able to examine and judge for themselves, into the great things of our divine religion, without

fear or terror,¹²⁹ therefore, in order to accomplish what I conveniently can in this important business, in further trust that my trustees or the survivor or the survivors of them, in case if any number of Jews to the number of 15 families or upward, should migrate to this country and put themselves under the care, management and protection of the Society for Ameliorating the State of the Jews, incorporated and established in the State of New York, whereof I am the President, and that within seven years after my death, shall voluntarily apply to the society, and obtain their consent my trustees shall convey to the said society such lands as they may want from time to time so as to supply each family with 50 acres to be taken out of a tract of 4000 acres part of my land left to my trustees, situate in Warren County in the State of Pennsylvania, which I direct to be held by them separate from my other lands and which shall be selected and appropriated to this use, by my trustees for their agent and the committee of the said society or their agent, which society shall or may give to each immigrant or his family in case of his death, a lot within the same, who shall be willing and shall actually become a settler by being on such lot so assigned to him which he shall enjoy for seven years, by clearing at least 15 acres thereof, building a dwelling house, planting 15 apple trees, and paying all taxes thereon, And if at the end of 7 years, if said immigrant or his family in case of his death shall continue to remain thereon, he shall receive a deed in fee simple to him or to his assigns forever from my trustees or a majority of them. But if the said society shall think it most for the advantage of the said immigrants or if they should prefer it as a body to settle in the states of New Jersey, New York, or any other place, and shall certify to this my said trustee, through the said society, then I revoke the whole of this devise and make it entirely void, and instead thereof give and bequeath to the said society or assigns, the sum of one thousand dollars to be paid within two years after my death for the use of said institution.

CXXXII

Jadownicky's Address, 1822

A young German nobleman, Adelbert, Count von der Recke, became deeply interested in the activities of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. The young Count sent to America, as his special agent, a converted Polish Jew, one Bernard Jadownicky, at whose arrival the Society held a special meeting where an address from Count von der Recke was presented, and Jadownicky himself made a speech. Excerpts from the speech of Jadownicky, as translated for the Society by the Rev. Dr. Milledoller,¹³⁰ are presented below. Jadownicky brought also letters of the Count to Frey and to Boudinot. Both letters urge a kind reception for Jadownicky. The letter to Frey says, in part:

"The deep and sacred concern of my heart for the salvation of Israel, has induced me to send to you my beloved brother Jadownicky, who is of the house of Israel, and has been translated from darkness into the marvellous light of the Gospel. . . . Receive him in love; be unto him, dear friend in the Lord, counsellor and friend: please to conduct and direct the important concern of his mission, which he will lay before you."¹³¹

Jadownicky's address makes clear what was the important concern to which Count von der Recke referred.

252. ADDRESS TO THE BOARD BY MR. JADOWNICKY, 1822¹³²

The Board being already acquainted with the object of my mission, from the letter of Count von der Recke, von Vollmarstein, I doubt but they will heartily approve the Christian disposition manifested by that Nobleman, in the establishment of the Society of Friends to Man, and especially of his interest in the salvation of Israel, evidenced not only in general exertions for their welfare, but in found-

ing a settlement, as a sanctuary, in which they are received and prepared for future usefulness.

The undersigned trusts that this Board will not only approve the plan of the Count, in the organization of that settlement, but that they will also feel disposed to co-operate with him at his call, in the great work in which he is engaged, and to render such aid as may be in their power.

It would be superfluous here to speak further of the importance of the work itself, or the claims of the Count to the aid he has requested. It is necessary, however, that the Board should be made acquainted with the difficulties that exist abroad in relation to the conversion of the Jews, and which not only obstruct, but threaten wholly to prevent the spread of Gospel light and of Gospel principles among them. In attempting this, and proposing means of counteraction, in a condensed form, I shall endeavour to show.

1. That the founding of a Christian Hebrew colony, which may perhaps best be done in America, is the most effectual measure that can be devised to promote the eternal welfare of that people, and to lay the foundation of their national conversion.

2. That a colony founded in America, if it shall not be seriously injured in its commencement, will need a preparatory station in Europe, which shall serve as a telegraph to the Jews in that quarter, and in which inquirers into truth, as well as those who have embraced the truth, shall by previous and all manner of useful instruction, as well as trial of their character, be prepared for emigration to America.

3. That there are such important advantages connected with the station contemplated, or rather establishing by the Count in the vicinity of the Rhine, as will render it the most eligible to answer the great purpose contemplated. . . .

In our day we perceive among Christians of different nations and denominations an interest in the welfare of that people; and many begin to think it is a duty to care for their state. This has been especially manifested by the Society organized through the indefatigable labours of the Rev. Mr. Frey, about twelve years ago in London, who, possessed of greater means than Callenberg,¹³³ has not only reprinted and circulated his Gospels and tracts, but thousands of copies of the whole of the New Testament, with additional tracts

in Hebrew, Hebrew German, and Hebrew Polish. It also sends out Missionaries, and its labours thus far have not been unattended with a divine blessing. In confirmation of that fact, and among other interesting things contained in a letter of Dr. Steinkopf,¹³⁴ giving an account of the anniversary of the Society for the conversion of the Jews, held in London, May 4, 1821, he declared that it was an undeniable fact, that in many lands and provinces, there exists a continually increasing desire on the part of the Jews to become more accurately acquainted with the truths of Christianity, and to receive oral and written instruction on this subject, and especially from the New Testament.

During the presence of Mr. Marc, a faithful brother of the house of Israel, and an agent of the London Society at Frankfort on Maine, a small Society was formed in that city for the benefit of the Jews, who, in the course of one year, rejoiced in the conversion to the Christian faith of no less than twenty Israelites. Among these was a venerable Rabbi, of the name of Bergmann,¹³⁵ aged about 64 years, who is not unknown in the literary world. At the time of the meeting of the great Sanhedrim, assembled by the Emperor Napoleon, at Paris, he wrote against the superstitious doctrines of the Talmud. This man was instructed and baptized by Pastor Stein.¹³⁶ There was also a Mr. Adler,¹³⁷ son-in-law of the principal Rabbi of Bonn,¹³⁸ on the Rhine, who joined the Christian church with his wife and four children; these were instructed and baptized by Pastor Manuel,¹³⁹ of the French Reformed Church. Principally, however, these converts were composed of young people of the principal Jewish families, some of whom were employed as teachers of Jewish congregations in the vicinity of Frankfort, and others in institutions and private houses in Frankfort. They forsook their employments, and, regardless of the threats of their fathers, the tears of their mothers and sisters, and the ridicule of their political friends, by whom they were considered as fanatics, made a free and public profession of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. They were instructed and baptized by Pastors Spiess,¹⁴⁰ Stein, Blum,¹⁴¹ Handwerk,¹⁴² and Kirchner.¹⁴³ These and other instances like these, show the latest progress of Christianity among the Jews in Germany, and with some of these you have doubtless, brethren, been made acquainted, through the medium of the public prints. But the hindrances to

propagating the Gospel among the Jews, are unspeakably greater than the facilities. The former are seldom learned from the public prints, and therefore deserve the more particular attention; for if we wait for that information from the public prints, it may be received when it is too late.

Christians, friends of Israel, if you knew with me, what a rich harvest might be gathered among the Jews in Germany, and knew also how little has thus far been done to effect it, you would weep aloud with me, as those did who are noted in Ezra iii. 12, when they saw and compared the foundation of the second temple with that of the first. . . .

On my way to this country, I met in a small town on the borders of Germany, a converted Jew, who by the reading of the New Testament was brought to reflection. For a whole year he paid stolen visits (for he then lived with his parents,) to a Christian minister of the place, to obtain Christian instruction. That well-disposed minister was satisfied of the faith of this Israelite, but would not consent to his union to the Christian church, until he had obtained some secular employment. When the Israelite, however, who could no longer conceal his faith in Christ, insisted upon being baptized, that sacred rite was administered. He is now without bread, and would be forsaken, were it not for his Jewish father, who, less barbarous than others under similar circumstances, pays occasional attention to his wants. . . .

On a view of the whole ground, beloved Christians, if we continue to employ former means for the conversion of the Jews, namely the sending them Missionaries, the putting Christian writings into their hands, or in some instances employing such as have embraced Christianity, we may hope at most to have occasional and individual conversions: but in such a procedure where are the means of effecting any thing like national conversion? And yet both prophets and apostles speak in the clearest manner of such a national conversion. Now as it is acknowledged that we cannot reap except we sow; so in the view of a national conversion, the best physical means of its accomplishment are to be devised and brought into action. In returning to the *first subject of consideration then*, we may see that the plan of forming a Jewish Christian colony is not only calculated to meet and counteract the hindrances and

difficulties which have been above stated, but also to lay the foundation or prepare the way for national conversion.

Such a colony, reared in due deliberation and in wisdom, will serve as a rock on which every wave of opposition shall be broken, and become harmless. Missionaries and ministers will no more be in doubt how they shall act when Israelites open to them their hearts; but will be placed in a situation in which with the most joyful sensations they may make known to them the Gospel.

Here will be a secure haven into which every Israelite, whose heart the Lord hath touched, may run for security, and avoid the danger of falling into the hands of unchristian Christians, among whom his faith might suffer shipwreck.

Such a colony would at the same time have the advantage of attracting the attention of the Jews in all the world, and serve as a constant fixed barrier against their attempts to put down every appearance of Christian knowledge among them. The converted Jews of such a colony, especially when it should contain men deeply versed in knowledge of things of the kingdom of God, would be inclined by love to their brethren after the flesh, to maintain, in the subject of Christianity, a most profitable correspondence with them, and thus lay the foundation of their national conversion. . . .

Second Proposition, A preparatory school, on the old Continent. It is desirable, yea, even necessary, that the future members of the American colony, at least by far the greater part of them, should be true and enlightened Christians, who in wisdom and in love should lead and govern, and let their light shine before their brethren, according to the flesh, who are walking in thick darkness.

But how in any other way could we be so certainly assured of their qualifications, as when its future members, having first entered the preparatory school and been trained there, have had their characters tried, and their faith and growth in true Christian knowledge ascertained. It will also be necessary for the colony to maintain a constant correspondence, and religious intercourse with all the Jewish congregations of Europe; and how difficult would this be, without having some station or centre of operation on the old continent?

Convinced of this, Count von der Recke was induced to purchase for the sum of 20,000 rix dollars,¹⁴⁴ a tract of land of about

40 acres, with buildings formerly used as a Monastery, the whole encompassed by a wall, and to devote, and to commence preparing it for such a station. Into this asylum Israelites that desire a knowledge of the truth can be received, can obtain instruction from a minister provided for that purpose, and according to their disposition and talents, can be instructed in Agriculture, in the Mechanic Arts, or in Manufactures, or can enter upon preparatory studies to become teachers of schools or ministers of the Gospel.

Third Proposition. And now passing on, let us contemplate the important advantages which this station will have over every other that can be proposed.

Count von der Recke erected more than two years ago an Asylum under the name of the Society of Friends to Man, for the reception of forsaken orphans, and the children of criminals. The nature of the Institution may be learned from the first printed account now transmitted to this country.

No sooner, in the course of its operations, were others called upon to assist in the work, than contributions in money and other valuables were made from every part of Germany, as well as from distant parts of Poland and of Russia.

The operations of the Society were also very much facilitated by a cabinet act of the King of Prussia, dated Nov. 21st, 1819; whereby such letters of the Society, as were immediately connected with their operations, were franked through every part of his dominions.

Now as the conversion of the Jews forms a part of the labours of the Society of the Friends of Man, it will easily be perceived that the station of Count von der Recke will in this respect have a very great advantage; and he himself, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Germany, will be a faithful labourer in this vineyard of the Lord. Having studied economy, and prepared himself for such an undertaking, he will not merely commit to others, but constantly superintend himself, this most interesting establishment.

The application of the Count to you, brethren, is entirely reasonable. He does not ask contributions for a series of years, but that present help which will enable him fairly to bring this work into operation. On this subject I will use his own words.—“In great undertakings in Germany much must be done before patronage

can be induced." Aid the Count, brethren, only so far, that he may bring his plan into operation, and there is no doubt but that when manufactories are established, and agriculture and the arts are cultivated, and converted Jews are engaged in prayer and in labour at this station, that abundant help for its continuance and support will flow in from every part of Europe. In this case auxiliary institutions will be formed in all the great German cities, and especially in the sea-ports, and in every part of Holland, who will gladly make it their duty to provide for the passing over to this country from the station above mentioned, all such Israelites as shall be best qualified for the American colony.

CXXXIII

The Progress of Melioration, 1823

Although, as we have seen,¹⁴⁵ The American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews was formally created in 1820, it was not until its fourth annual meeting, in 1823, that its Board of Directors presented their First Annual Report, excerpts from which are reprinted below. By this time, several auxiliary societies had been founded and donations from these societies were coming into the treasury, but little had yet been done to further the major objective of the group, the foundation of a settlement of converted or near-converted Jews. The Directors' Report, however, put the best possible construction on the absence of significant activity, and one motion passed by the members present at the fourth annual meeting expressed the thanks of the Society "to the Officers and Directors for the services which they have gratuitously rendered to the Society." From the minutes of this meeting we learn, incidentally, that our old friend, Jadownicky "is now prosecuting his studies at Princeton, under the patronage of this Society, with a view to the ministry of the Gospel among his Jewish brethren."¹⁴⁶

253. DIRECTORS' REPORT, 1823¹⁴⁷

The Board of Directors of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, though organized on the 8th day of February, 1820, and incorporated by the Legislature of New-York, on the 14th day of the subsequent April, have now the opportunity of offering to the Society their *first Annual Report*. For this fact it is proper to render the reasons, as it was necessary plainly to make the statement.

The magnitude, the novelty, and the peculiarities of the enterprise; the obstacles with which our common apathy, ignorance, and prejudice, have retarded its prosecution, furnish a compendious view of those reasons; which, as they existed in some degree in the

experienced feelings of its conductors themselves, have occasioned the lapse of more than three years spent, not wasted, in the incipency of their preparations. Convinced, from the tenor of prophecy, from the signs of the times, and from the history of that wonderful people, who, even in their dispersions, maintaining their distinctive character, "dwell alone," and are, "not reckoned among the nations," that the purposes of God were teeming with some stupendous results, soon to be realized by their conversion to Christianity, that those purposes are to be accomplished "NOT BY MIRACLES BUT BY MEANS," *and those means the humanity, prayers, and exertions of Christians*, and that the time "*is near, even at the doors*," the Board continued, through the first two years of their course, to do little else than survey this vast untrodden field of the future victories of their blessed Lord, to acquaint themselves with its surface, and consider the labour necessary to be expended in its cultivation, to open a correspondence with their fellow-servants in distant places, and having prepared to commence operations, to await the Signal from the Great Proprietor of the soil, "the Lord of the harvest;" and at his word to apply their efforts with alacrity and effect. . . .

An influence has descended, and is now operating among the friends of man in Europe, both insular and continental, that foretokens one of the grandest events in the vista of prophecy, connected with the subsequent universal triumphs of the Gospel, THE CONVERSION OF THE JEWS. With these devout and active disciples of the Son of God, it is a deliberately fixed and effective principle, and one which the "truth and soberness" of Christian prophecy abundantly sanctions, *that the Gospel is to be universally propagated, and the Millennial glory introduced*, EMINENTLY THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF JEWISH MISSIONARIES, "PREACHING THE FAITH WHICH ONCE THEY DESTROYED." This principle is conciliating the confidence and prompting the exertions of millions of Christians, and among them many of the sons of the prophets, and some of the first and most distinguished of the students of prophecy in the protestant world. Never before was such a general movement observable among the nations towards that most interesting and *deeply injured* people, since the blood of the Messiah, "the Prince

of Life," was shed by their fathers, and judicially visited, according to their own imprecation, "upon them and their children." . . .

To that Omnipotent Spirit, the official author and source of all good, who has inspired such an unwonted influence in favour of the Jews, through the bosoms of their European benefactors, is wholly to be attributed the simultaneous and kindred sentiment which is beginning to pervade the American republic; which already speaks volumes in the language of fact; and which indicates "greater things than these" in the purposes of the God of Israel, with whom that repudiated race is still "beloved for the fathers' sakes." We have never known an object of evangelical beneficence, which in our world always meets with hostility, so triumphantly espoused and so extensively successful, considering the recency of its publication, the simplicity of its appeal, the antipathies which have heretofore obstructed it, and the limited sphere in which its knowledge has been diffused, and its peculiar claims to patronage have been vindicated. . . . That our American churches, in concert with those in Europe, are beginning to perceive the honour and assert the privilege of this high vocation, the following facts may demonstrate.

1. *The formation of societies, in different sections of our country, for promoting the conversion of the Jews.*

To say nothing of our own institution, which in providence deserves the consideration of faith, and which, we trust, has seen its deepest depression in its preliminary operations; to say nothing of the number and the resources of our Auxiliaries, there are several *independent societies* in the United States in whose prosperity we rejoice, and whose members and conductors we cordially congratulate as our beloved fellow servants in this "work of faith and labour of love," and we bid them God Speed in their career. . . .

2. *The success of their agent, the Rev. Mr. J. S. C. F. Frey.*¹⁴⁸

Wherever this indefatigable labourer has bent his way, either in his first excursion among the churches of New-England, or subsequently in his September tour northward of this city, or in his present unaccomplished mission to the south, he has been signally prospered of God; and the very opposition of unbelief and censoriousness has been put under contribution to his success. In the month of December last, he commenced his southward journey in

the service of the Board. He appears to have been singly devoted to his work, and to have succeeded beyond the most sanguine calculations of his friends. He travelled as far as Savannah on the sea-board. Returning, his course has been directed through the interior, and his arrival at home is expected in the month of June. His time has been arduously occupied in organizing auxiliary societies, soliciting donations, diffusing information, and preaching to crowded and respectable auditories on the great and interesting topics of his agency. . . .

3. *The spirit manifested in the communications received from our Auxiliaries.* In announcing their formation, our Auxiliary Societies have generally and in many instances affectingly expressed the zeal and cordiality with which they give their countenance to the cause; the expectation, hope and prayer with which they confide in *Jehovah* of hosts for its advancement. . . .

4. *The feasibility of the project of colonization; its growing expediency in the estimation of our members and the public; the peculiar Facilities and obligations resulting from our correspondence with Count Von Der Recke ¹⁴⁹ and our prospective connexion with his establishment on the continent; and the conclusion to which the Board have decisively come in its adoption.*

It is well known to all the friends of the Jews, who have informed themselves on the subject, that their condition, especially in continental Europe, is grievous in the extreme, and the obstacles to their conversion numerous and ordinarily insuperable. On this point speculation must be silent, and facts must be heard. And as an epitome of those facts, for it is not our purpose to be voluminous, we embody in our report the following extracts from documents already published, but hitherto insufficiently circulated. . . .¹⁵⁰

To the above it may be proper only to add the remark, that the views contained in the "extracts," are all in accordance with facts and realities in relation to the present calamitous and pitiable state of the Jews, and to the expediency of colonization, as the most recent and authentic statements from Europe abundantly evince. The Board consider it also a collateral proof in Providence of the correctness of their positions, that the scheme of colonization is so generally approved, and vindicated by the most enlightened and

humane of our countrymen, so far as their sentiments have reached us from different parts of the Union.

In respect to the alternative submitted to their election, in the bequest of their venerable late President, Dr. Boudinot, the Board have decided to receive the sum of \$1000 from his executors, rather than accept the unwieldly [sic] and too remotely situated tract of land conditionally subjected to their choice. . . .¹⁵¹

The Board would also notice as a fact propitious to the interest of the Jews,

5. *The brightening evidence and the correspondent conviction, in reference to the great object of the Society, that the time to prosecute it vigorously, the time of effort and expectation is at hand.*

On this point, though very interesting and vital, they must reluctantly be brief. They assume it, however, as an undoubted fact, that Christians in both hemispheres, are cherishing the faith of the proposition, that *now is the time*, and practically appropriating the words to the Jewish cause, "Thou shalt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof;" as they never did before: and that their *actions* are beginning to evince the sincerity and strength of the persuasion. Of this, so far as it respects the American church, some proof is contained, and more might be furnished in this Report.

CXXXIV

A Plan to Colonize Jewish-Christians, 1824

Finally, in 1824, the long years of preparation began to bear fruit. A committee of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews presented a report, at the meeting of January 27, 1824, suggesting a long-range program of continuing to search for exactly the right spot in which to set up the Jewish-Christian settlement they had so long talked about. The plan also proposed a temporary rental of an estate near New York City where immigrant converts might be placed pending the final colonization. By 1825, such a temporary accommodation had been found in Harrison, New York, and a little over a year later, in November, 1826, it was announced that "The American Society for Meliorating the condition of the Jews has with a portion of its funds, bought a tract of land at New Paltz, on the North River, in Ulster County, New-York. And it is preparing, at that place, an asylum for those pious Jewish converts, which the Jews Societies, in Europe, may send over to us. And here they will exercise themselves in industrious habits, in cultivating the soil, or in labouring at their different vocations, and here they will sit under their own vine, and fig tree, none will make them afraid: and they will be far from the voice of European insult, and oppression."

254. COMMITTEE REPORT, 1824¹⁵²

The committee appointed to devise a plan for a settlement of Jewish converts, under the superintendence of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, submit the following Report; viz:

The subject referred to them has been found, by your committee, one of great difficulty and importance. In the developement of a

plan, they have been embarrassed by the raised expectations of the public; the conflicting opinions of some of our wisest and best friends; and the *novelty* of the undertaking itself, which affording none of the lights of experience, left each one to his own judgment, as to the nature, extent, and management of the contemplated settlement. And if these difficulties have been found so formidable, on the part of those who have given much time and reflection to the consideration of the subject, and who have been habitually conversant with the transactions of the society, we feel assured that our friends at a distance, to whose minds these difficulties have not been presented in all their details, will make due allowances for that delay which has hitherto apparently marked our operations.

1. The first plan which presented itself for consideration, was that of an extensive *colony* in the interior of the state of New-York. That the board have had some such plan in contemplation, appears from their issuing proposals for the purchase of several thousand acres of land, and the appointment of committees to explore certain tracts which had been offered to them. These measures were recommended by our distinguished friend and correspondent, the Count Von der Recke, and they were not only well intended, but the *time* and *money* expended on them, show, that the board have paid due respect to the suggestions of foreign correspondents, and the expectations of the Christian public at home; and that they have not been inattentive to the important interests intrusted to their superintendence. Nor will the *time* which has elapsed, the money which has been expended in exploring lands, and the deference which has been paid to the expectations of the public, be considered as wasted, if the board have thereby obtained information which will justify the abandonment of measures thus recommended, and thus grand and extensive.

In the opinion of your committee the plan of such a colony ought to be abandoned;

1. As too expensive. The purchase of such a tract of land as was originally contemplated, would require a sum not less than 75,000 dollars. This, with the expense of transporting emigrants from the sea-board to the settlement; the erection of suitable buildings for their accommodation; and the provision of means indispensable to

their support, would require far greater resources than the parent institution, with the aid of her numerous auxiliaries, can reasonably expect to command. The consequence would be, that the exertions of the board would be paralyzed by pecuniary embarrassment, the extensive tracts which we should have no means to cultivate, would present a sickly prospect to the benevolent eye; and when finally compelled to sell the greatest part of the purchase, we would have to do it either at a sacrifice or at an advance which would expose us to a charge of speculation.

2. As unnecessary. The warmest friend to any plan of meliorating the condition of the Jews, does not suppose that in many prospective years, converts will come to our shores in such numbers as to require the occupancy of 15 or 20,000 acres of land or if they should, that any considerable portion of them would be prepared by inclination, or previous habits to engage in agricultural pursuits.

Abandoning, therefore, all idea of recommending to the board any plan which contemplates the purchase of *so much* land, your committee next turned their attention to the plan of *amalgamation*; or of inducing the converts to mingle indiscriminately with our fellow-citizens and fellow-christians, both in church and state.

This has been recommended to the board, and referred to your committee in a valuable communication from one of our distinguished Vice-Presidents,¹⁵³ addressed to our venerable President,¹⁵⁴ a communication, manifesting that interest in the Jews, which might have been expected from the acknowledged piety of its author; and abounding with the good sense, and the practical wisdom, of age, of talent, and of experience. The board are under great obligation to their venerable Vice-President for turning his attention to this important subject; and your committee regret that they cannot consider the details of his plan as coming within the compass of the views of the board, or the constitution and law of incorporation under which they act.

The plan of amalgamation would, in the opinion of your committee, render the existence of a society for meliorating the condition of the Jews unnecessary, and their operations nugatory. The whole land, and whole American Church is already before the descendants of Abraham; and if they come among us, who will harm them if they be followers of that which is good? In the eloquent

language of our venerable Vice-President, in the communication referred to your committee: "Every foot of ground within our boundaries is consecrated to liberty. Every part is equally sacred to the honest emigrant, whoever he may be, Jew or Gentile. The moment he lands upon our blessed shores he is safe. A broad and impenetrable shield covers him. Our cities, towns, villages, neighbourhoods, are all before him: in all, in every place, he is equally protected, he is amply comforted. Without any distinction of race, of tongue, or religion, he is every where welcome, and always secure. None will injure him, nor any presume to make him afraid." The rich among them, if they give a preference to our free constitution, can, without societies like ours, locate among us where they please, and be admitted, equally with emigrants from other nations, to the rights and immunities of citizens. But how are the poor among them to get here, even if they are so disposed? What direction and encouragement could be given them on their arrival by a board of managers of any society, which could not be given by any pious and judicious individual? What individual could spare the time and expense, or would incur the responsibility of looking for domestic accommodations, and providing suitable employment for them? What is every bodies [sic] business is nobody's business; and we cannot hope to induce converts to come among us, on the vague prospect of *amalgamating* with us, unless something tangible and visible is presented to their minds, which will afford them at least temporary accommodation, employment, and support for themselves and families. Let them ultimately, or as soon after their arrival as practicable, amalgamate with our citizens, and enjoy our distinguished civil and religious privileges: But let them, *on their arrival*, have an asylum, where they can at once enjoy the means of temporal support and religious instruction; and whence they can look, if they are so disposed, for a more permanent and profitable place of abode.

Your committee are therefore in favour of a middle course; of some plan which, while in its operation and results it *may* conduce to the amalgamation of the Jewish converts with our fellow citizens and fellow christians, will, in the mean time, meet the expectations of our christian friends in Europe, satisfy the advocates of colonization among ourselves; come within the means of our society to ac-

compish; be suited to the taste and habits of the Jewish converts, and furnish them, at least for a season, religious instruction and temporal support.

The plan devised by the committee and hereby recommended to the Board of Directors, is as follows, viz:

Plan

I. The object of the society is, to invite and receive, from any part of the world, such Jews as do already profess the Christian religion, or are desirous to receive Christian instruction, to form them into a settlement, and to furnish them with the ordinance of the gospels, and with such employment in the settlement as shall be assigned them.

II. The Jews who come to the settlement are to be *principally* employed in agricultural and mechanical operations.

III. In order to facilitate this object, the Board shall procure as much land as will afford a site for the necessary buildings, and the contemplated mechanical and agricultural operations.

IV. In order to afford the emigrants suitable religious instruction, a minister of the gospel shall be procured by the Board, whose duty it shall be to act as the general superintendant of the settlement.

V. A schoolmaster shall be provided, to teach the children and youth such branches of the different sciences as may fit them for becoming intelligent, respectable, and useful members of society.

VI. Theological instruction shall be provided in the settlement for such youth of piety and talent among the Jewish converts, as it may be deemed expedient to have qualified for becoming ministers of the gospel or missionaries.

VII. On the contemplated settlement, a farm shall be stocked, and furnished with suitable implements of husbandry. The produce of the farm shall be considered common stock for the support of the different members of the settlement; and an experienced farmer shall be placed thereon to manage its concerns.

VIII. All the members of the settlement are to be considered as a band of brethren, governed by the Laws of our Divine Redeemer, and associated together for the purpose of aiding each other in the concerns of the life that now is, and of that which is to come; and if any of the emigrants should act inconsistently with their profes-

sion, the Board reserve to themselves the right, at any time, to remove them; lest by their improper conduct they should corrupt the morals of the other members of the settlement.

The committee have not entered into the details of the internal regulations of the settlement. Many of these must necessarily be left to circumstances and experience. They have contented themselves with submitting a general plan, which may form the basis of future operation, and which may be expanded and improved, as the necessities of our Jewish brethren may require, and the means of the society will warrant. And to carry this plan into effect, your committee recommend the following resolutions, viz:

1st. Resolved, that the *land committee*, consisting of Daniel Boardman,¹⁵⁵ Ebenezer Burrill,¹⁵⁶ Lebbeus Loomis, R. Milford Blatchford,¹⁵⁷ and Peter W. Radcliff, Esqrs. together with the Rev. Dr. Thomas Macauley, be directed to prosecute their inquiries for a suitable tract of land for the location of the contemplated settlement.

2d. Whereas some time may elapse before the purchase of the site for the ultimate settlement of emigrants,

Resolved, that Messrs. John R. Murray,¹⁵⁸ Daniel Boardman, Peter W. Radcliff, Ebenezer Burrill, and R. Milford Blatchford, Esqrs. be a committee with powers to procure, near this city, a place for THE RECEPTION of such Jews as may from time to time come to this country, where accommodations shall be provided for them, *as one family*, at the expense of the society; and whence, *at their option* they may locate on our agricultural establishment, or engage elsewhere, in any employment under the auspices of the Board.

3d. Resolved, that the Foreign Secretary be directed to transmit to Count Von der Recke a copy of the foregoing plan, and to request him to act as the agent of this Board in Germany, in communicating information of the plan adopted by the Board; ascertaining the names, numbers, and circumstances, of Jews who may wish to come to the settlement; forming societies to defray the expenses of the emigrants in coming to America; and generally calling the attention of the religious public in Germany to the objects of our Society.

All which is respectfully submitted.

New-York, January, 1824

CXXXV

Resistance to Paternalism, 1825

The plan to rent an estate near New York¹⁵⁹ was carried through. A farm at Harrison, in Westchester County, was the spot chosen. Invitations went out to Jewish converts to Christianity, some of whom had been active in the work of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. With the invitations went the Society's rules for the government of the colony. Four well-known converts, led by Erasmus H. Simon, an agent of the Society, rejected the invitation in a sharply worded letter that declared the conditions too confining, leaving the colonists no freedom to control their own affairs. The other original signers of this letter, besides Simon, were Jadownicky, Jacobi, and Wolf. The two latter were induced to withdraw their signatures and to go to the farm, but Simon and Jadownicky stood firm on their refusal.

255. LETTER OF PROTEST, 1825¹⁶⁰

Murray Hill, May 21

Gentlemen, We have received, through the medium of your Recording Secretary, an invitation to join the settlement, which you propose to locate on a leased farm, at Harrison, &c. together with the rules, which you have adopted for its spiritual and temporal government.

Gladly would we accept of the invitation, could we in conscience comply with the terms of it. After mature consideration, we are unanimously brought to the painful but urgent duty of remonstrating against the conditions prescribed in some of your rules.

We assure you, Gentlemen, that we are actuated by no sinister motives in desiring to have our Hebrew Christian church and community free. We hope thereby to be enabled to glorify our Redeemer, and meliorate the condition of our brethren, who seek these

shores not more as a refuge from temporal than from ecclesiastical bondage.

Our wishes relative to this important subject have long been before you and the public. Need we again repeat them? They are simply to establish a free community among ourselves, where we may unite, in the name of Christ, to labour for our support, and worship God according to his revealed will, and the dictates of our own consciences.

With respect to our spiritual concerns, you appoint a chaplain, and give directions for our mode of worship. Where is there, we would ask, a community to whom the privilege of choosing their own minister, and managing their own spiritual affairs, is denied? The Hebrew Christians, desirous of being in amity with all denominations, but called by none, require that their spiritual concerns should be conducted by their own brethren, in order that the Hebrew Christian church may not become a *sectarian* institution; but this would inevitably be the case, or at least be considered so, should you appoint a clergyman of any denomination as its spiritual superintendent.

If an uncommon measure of love, zeal, and sympathy is required in ministering to the spiritual wants of this flock; if a thorough knowledge of their national character, and acquaintance with their language, together with their prejudices and objections against Christianity, are indispensable requisites in their teachers, you will admit, that Hebrew Christians are themselves fit instruments to give Christian instruction to their brethren. Moreover, a Hebrew Christian would neither as a minister nor teacher, exhaust by salary the funds of the society; like the other members, he would put his earnings into a common treasury.

With regard to your rules for the management of our temporal concerns, we request you to reconsider them, and then tell us whether they do not rather belong to the regulations of an almshouse or an asylum, than a free community, for what well educated and enlightened Hebrew would wish to join the settlement under such an aspect.

We think it the duty of every true Christian to deny himself, seeking not his own but his neighbour's weal: we are willing to act on this principle. Can we do more? But you seem to exact a degree of

self-denial above what the Gospel enjoins, in requiring that, as babes in their nonage, we should put the earnings, which some may acquire by the sweat of their brow, and others by the talents and attainments they possess, in your hands for your disposal, thus leaving ourselves dependent on your discretion for our very clothing.

We are providentially here not alone for ourselves, but in some degree as the representatives of those of our brethren, whom the Lord may send to partake with us of the dearest blessing of a free country, *liberty of conscience*. We are sufficiently acquainted with their sentiments to anticipate their agreement with our determination, never willing to submit either to temporal or spiritual bondage. We are, Gentlemen, yours respectfully in every good work.

Erasmus H. Simon,
Bernard Jadownsky.

CXXXVI

Christian Objection to Colonization Plan, 1824

The proposals of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews for the establishment of a ghetto settlement were not accepted without opposition.¹⁶¹ In fact, there was objection even within the organization, from one of its vice-presidents, Dr. John H. Livingston,¹⁶² President of Rutgers College and Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church in America. Dr. Livingston's long letter to the Society's president, Dr. Peter Wilson,¹⁶³ was certainly written some time before its publication in 1826, for by the time of publication, the good author was dead. On the other hand, it could not have been written prior to 1823, because a Society report of that year is mentioned in the text. The extracts below are taken from Livingston's letter, the general thesis of which is that Jewish converts to Christianity ought not to be isolated in a special colony, but should be permitted to mingle freely in the life of the broader Christian community in America.¹⁶⁴

256. JOHN H. LIVINGSTON TO
PETER WILSON, *circa* 1824¹⁶⁵

The object of our foreign correspondents was certainly good and dignified; but the mode they recommend for its accomplishment, appears, upon mature consideration, defective and improper. Their error must be referred alone to their ignorance of our situation, and the character and habits which prevail in America. They are themselves, unhappily, in a great degree, destitute of civil and religious liberty; and can form no idea of our privileges and the benign influence of the blessings we enjoy. Nor do they know that the disdain and enmity towards the Jews—which, during the gloomy ages of Papal persecution prevailed and are not yet extirpated

throughout the kingdoms of Europe—are neither felt, nor indulged, nor practised here.

The Jews with us, for the most part, are very respectable. They always rank indiscriminately with other citizens, and are treated with all the civilities and friendships which a polished state of society produces; and in many instances are raised to high and responsible offices. There is no antipathy or hatred against them upon our part; but rather tender compassion and pointed attention. With them indeed, an enmity against the anointed King Messiah remains, which produces a degree of alienation towards Christians; but, abstracted from this, their intercourse is correct, and they are never questioned nor insulted. The spirit of religious liberty has moulded us all into affectionate forbearance and mutual friendship.

What therefore wise and good men, with the views and principles of Europeans have suggested as a proper plan for meliorating the condition of the Jews, may be prudent and desirable with them; but with us in America altogether unnecessary, and even pernicious. An asylum, it is said, must be provided for the converted Jews; a sanctuary, a place of refuge, an asylum! From what? what danger, what insult, what opposition, what injury has a believing Jew to fear in America! Who will threaten, who will molest him? The infidel Jews dare not, and Christians will not. Must a sequestered place, a colony, a lonely habitation, be located for his protection? Surely not. The very term, when applied to us, is a reproach, and is disgraceful. An asylum! The whole United States, our whole nation is an asylum for the Jew. Every foot of ground within our boundaries is consecrated to liberty; every part is equally sacred to the honest emigrant, whoever he may be, Jew or Gentile. The moment he lands upon our blessed shores he is safe. A broad and impenetrable shield covers him. Every portion of our beloved country, our cities, towns, villages, and neighbourhoods are all before him; in all, in every place, he is equally protected; he is amply comforted. Without any distinction of race, of tongue, or religion, he is every where welcome, and always secure; none will injure him, nor any presume to make him afraid. But if a sequestered colony be not requisite for safety, can it possibly be the most proper plan for affording the Jews that instruction, comfort, and establishment in the faith, with the worship and communion of Christians, which they desire, and

for which alone they wish to emigrate? Will they learn more in the woods and mountains, than in the bosom of our society? A little serious reflection upon the nature and inseparable consequences of such a situation, will perhaps alarm the apprehension of those who, without due examination have adopted the colonization scheme. To exhibit this is my present object. . . .

Two assertions have been made, and both employed as arguments in favor of a Colony for the Jews.

It is said the Jews are a people who "must dwell alone," and consequently always wish to live wholly to themselves. And to this is added, that they ought to be kept separate from the Gentiles; that the august predictions concerning their future destiny may be more perspicuous and evident to the whole world. The answer to each of these positions is readily found. With respect to the first, it is true, the Jews are a people, who, agreeably to the prophecy concerning them "shall dwell alone." And this prediction has been strictly and literally verified. In a *national* capacity they have dwelt thus alone above 3000 years. To this they were appointed in the promises to the patriarchs. The separating system was organized at Mount Sinai. A dividing wall was there raised; and that people were effectually precluded from ever mixing with other nations. To this day the wall remains undemolished. By their intermediate matrimonial connexions, their pertinacious attachment to the customs of their Fathers, and implicit submission to rabbinical tradition, they have continued, and still remain in all their dispersions and intercourse with strangers, a distinct and separate people, "they are not reckoned among the nations!" But the assertion is not true as it respects *domestic* life. The Jews are fond of society, and averse, above all others on earth, to solitude. They prefer a throng, and delight to mix with a multitude. They choose cities and populous towns in all the nations where they dwell for their residence; and are most happy when pressing through a crowd. Few instances are found of any Jew who lives in a retired situation. They are an active, industrious people; and seek the bustling scene of business; their habits are formed upon these principles. It would be terrible to them to be placed in a lonely sequestered habitation, however comfortable in other respects, such habitation might be; how much more terrible should it be a dreary wilderness, a solitary desert? Besides,

whenever grace prevails in their hearts, they will then, from more exalted motives, desire to be in the company of the Lord's people. They would not consent to be excluded from their communion; nor willingly be separated from them.

As to their remaining a distinct people, which constitutes the second objection, the present experiment will make no perceptible difficulty. The primitive Apostolic Church was principally formed of Jews. Many thousands of them believed, and were the first fruits of the Gospel. When it afterwards "pleased God to grant also the Gentiles repentance unto life," what was the consequence? What course did the happy subjects of grace pursue? Did they strengthen the line of separation? Did they withdraw from fraternal communion? Directly the reverse: they all immediately amalgamated, and Jews and Gentiles formed one and the same Church. It must be so: "there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all and in all." Penitent sinners of every nation and description upon believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, are all equally united to him; and of course all united, blended and consolidated in one Church. They altogether constitute one body, of which the Divine Redeemer is the glorious head, and they are living members. They are brethren; and whatever might have been their previous distinctions, they become one family and have equal free and full communion. This is the doctrine of the Apostles; this was the practice of the primitive Church; and we find the Apostle Peter reprehended (Gal. 2) for a small deviation from this principle, and drawing a faint line of distinction between believing Jews and believing Gentiles. But after all, the objection has no force; for, notwithstanding the union and amalgamation in the first age of the Christian Church; and, notwithstanding any thing which the present movement and conversion of the Jews, has produced, or probably will, in the first instance, produce; no essential influence upon their national or separate character of their aggregate number, will be effected. It is impossible, in consequence of their distant dispersion, to form a correct estimate of their numbers; but it is computed that outside the myriads of the tribes who remain as yet unknown, there are of the tribe of Judah, and part of Benjamin and Levi, from whom the present Jews are descended, above nine millions. These will afford a national name and char-

acter; these will produce a mass sufficient to exemplify the truth of prophecy respecting that wonderful people. There is therefore no necessity of keeping them separate, and excluding from our society the few converts who come to us.

It has been the subject of universal regret, and the public has loudly complained, that the Directors have only promulgated in general terms, their intention of forming a Colony for the Jews; without explaining the constituent parts of such Colony, or declaring the manner in which it is to commence, or will probably be conducted. All the addresses in writing, or from the pulpit, consist in merely exhibiting what relates to the unhappy situation of the Jews, and their discouragement in Europe. This history has been so often repeated, that it has become familiar, and the ear is satiated. But nothing distinct or satisfactory has been communicated, by which a correct idea can be formed of the contemplated Colony; or a conviction excited that in this way the Jews will be benefited. As far, however, as the object has been disclosed by the conversation of those who profess to understand the plan, it appears, *That* to form what they call a Colony, the directors contemplate the purchase of a tract of 20,000 acres of unimproved or wild lands far distant from the City of New-York: *That* a set of pioneers, consisting of men who understand the use of the axe and plough, and are capable of attacking a forest, will be sent forward in the first instance, to render the inhospitable region in some measure habitable: *That* to this dismal tract the forlorn Jews must repair and struggle with all the privations and fearful circumstances which are always inseparable from a settlement upon uncultivated grounds: *That* the unhappy emigrants must engage first as apprentices to some overseers; and afterwards labour in a work to which they are not accustomed, upon a small spot of ground, which perhaps they may call their own, and labour hard or starve—and yet it is strangely supposed and suggested—*that* even here, under every forbidding aspect, even in such a dreary desert, the Jews will be happy and comfortable. They will here be instructed in the Christian religion, and teach their children; and, what surpasses expectation, they will soon be able to form a sort of seminary for the education of their brightest youth, who will here be prepared for becoming Missionaries; and from this wonderful Colony, as the centre of Christian

Jews, go forth and convert the house of Israel throughout the world. This is no caricature. It must amount to this, or the term Colony, with its train of inseparable consequences is a word without a meaning. That it is something like this, is evident from the report of the committee of ways and means, dated March 25, 1823, in which it is stated, that the "novelty of the duty, the intrinsic difficulties attending the establishment of a Christian Jewish Colony, and the great variety of incidents involved in such an undertaking, have all conspired to embarrass the committee, that they are unanimous in the opinion that the Colony should be established in the state of New-York. As to the quantity of land, they have found a great difficulty in coming to a decision. They agree, however, that it will be for the interest of the board to purchase as much as their funds will admit; that in the choice of land, care should be had to select such a tract as may be best adapted to the necessities and circumstances of those who are to take possession of it. The committee are, therefore, decidedly of the opinion, that it will defeat the benevolent intentions of the board, to place those Jews, who shall come to them, on land in its wild state "a part of each farm should be cleared ready at their hands, and capable of immediate use and cultivation. It will be found the most safe course to purchase a tract of good wild land, and immediately employ a sufficient number of persons accustomed to the business to clear such parts as would be necessary;" this the committee "think might be effected at a trifling expense either of time or money."

It is possible for men of business and experience in what relates to lands, to think the preparatory labours upon even the best wild tracts, would be effected at a trifling expense either of time or money. But rather let it be asked why have not all the difficulties and embarrassments which have perplexed the directors, and will forever perplex them, prompted them to recur to the first principle, and boldly call in question the whole colonization scheme? Why have they not long ago been convinced that a Colony of Christian Jews is altogether unnecessary either for them or for us; that it is a chimerical plan, which, in America, is not desirable, and cannot be realized, which ought never to have been adopted, and should without delay be totally relinquished? After so much ineffectual study,

toil, and confusion, it certainly is at length demonstrated to be impracticable, and therefore must be abandoned. To remain tenacious of a machine, which, upon repeated trials, is found too complex to be constructed, and too unwieldy in its progress, cannot be the choice or characteristic of wisdom.

The friends of the Jews, who are anxiously waiting to see what our society will do to meliorate their condition, have been astonished, and even affrighted at some late publications, which announce, that after advertising for suitable offers, the directors had made their selection, and were in negotiation for a tract on the west side of Lake Champlain. It is sincerely to be hoped, this intelligence may not be correct. If a spot must be located, that district is well known to those who own lands in the vicinity, to be above all others in the State of New-York, the worst range, and the most improper and forbidding for a Colony. Should the directors have already made the fatal purchase, it will prove a bad management of a bad plan; they will sink all their funds for nothing, and worse than nothing. No Jew will ever consent to go there; or if he makes the experiment, and views the dreadful scene, he will soon with disgust retreat from it. Feeling his independence in a land of liberty, he would spurn at the proposal, and rather choose to help himself. But what will render the purchase peculiarly embarrassing, is, that it will not be easy for the directors ever to sell the tract again. That whole range of lands has been long in the market, without obtaining purchasers. The stream of new settlers in the state of New-York, has always turned to the more pleasant and fertile parts in the west; while this forlorn region in the north has remained unsold, unsettled, and waste, and scarcely worth the taxes assessed upon it. But we will indulge the hope, that the negotiation for this inhospitable wilderness has not proceeded to a purchase; that the directors can retreat with honour from the meditated bargain; and still more, that they will fully, immediately, and forever, abandon the whole scheme of a Colony for the Jews.

It is a very singular and happy circumstance which is said to have taken place in the legislature of New-York; that, while deliberating on the act for incorporating our society, an objection was raised against the term Colony, in consequence of which, "meliorating the

condition of the Jews," were substituted. This leaves us at full liberty to relinquish the scheme of a Colony, and adopt any other we judge best calculated to attain the object we have in view.

The objections against a Colony, refer to the nature and insuperable difficulties attached to the plan itself; and also to the unavoidable operation and influence of such a plan upon the Jews. If the scheme be really impracticable, it must be abandoned. If it could be brought into operation, and would yet be defective and injurious, it ought not to be presented; but one more feasible and better, adopted.

The objections against an exclusive and distinct Colony of Jews, however modified, and organized, are obvious. It is too expensive and too tedious in its operation; and it demands a future superintendence, attention, and care, which no member of the Society, nor all the members together can possibly afford, or be found willing to bestow. But waiving the expense and trouble, and admitting a Colony could be formed, we do not hesitate to assert that it will not, and cannot, answer the end proposed. It certainly will not be acceptable, nor advantageous to the Jews; and cannot possibly tend, in the nature of things, to meliorate their condition. This is the principal objection. To feel its force, you will please to attend to the following considerations.

1. To send the Jews, upon their arrival, from the bosom of our civil and religious community, into a distant and uncultivated forest; to put them down among trees, morasses, rocks, mountains, and where there are more wild beasts and venomous serpents than human beings; where they will be deprived of the comforts, and almost the necessities of life, and must work severely at a new species of labour, may perhaps in theory appear plausible, and be extolled as a species of martyrdom; but it would certainly, when reduced to serious and sober practice, be in direct opposition to all their habits, and their raised expectation of our hospitality. It would be unkind treatment. We do not invite them to become martyrs. They are not now called to excessive sufferings; nor is there the least necessity for exposing them to unnecessary privations. Who of us would consent to live in a dreary wilderness? Who would voluntarily forfeit the sweet consolations of society, and live among rocks and mountains? And should we, without any sufficient reason, compel

these interesting strangers, who cast themselves upon our clemency and care, to reside in a place at which we ourselves shudder, and from which we recoil with horror? We surely cannot wish to transgress the primitive rule of benevolence, nor contravene the first principles of remunerative justice.

2. The Jews are not inclined to possess or cultivate any lands. It is observable, that, in all their dispersions, very few of them purchase or settle upon farms; nor do they know any thing of the labour of the fields. Whether this may be owing to their having been so many ages deprived of equal privileges with other citizens; or whether it is not to be ascribed to their considering Canaan as their patrimony, and themselves only strangers and sojourners in every country where they now dwell, and the result is the same. They are not, and will not be farmers. To force them into agriculture, and especially in a settlement upon rough and uncultivated forests, whatever some may assert to the contrary, would disgust them immediately, and make them heartily wish themselves again in Europe.

3. What is of higher importance, and constitutes the principal and unanswerable objection to the Colonization scheme is, *That* to thrust themselves in a wilderness, and form them into a distant Colony, whatever might be the preparatory improvements, would be in direct opposition to the interesting and express purpose for which the Jews wish to come to America. They desire not merely sustenance, and protection; their principal wish is to mingle with Christians upon equal terms: to enjoy with them the ordinances and worship of God's house; and especially to be in the way, and within reach of instruction in the doctrines of grace. But all these interesting objects will be completely forfeited and lost in a lonesome, distant Colony.

4. The children, for whose instruction in the Christian religion the converted Jews are exceedingly anxious, can never obtain a decent and proper education in the contemplated colonial situation. There can, for a long time, be few or no schools in such a sequestered district, at best only poor straggling teachers will be obtained; and the degraded Hebrew offspring will soon become, like the children of other settlers in solitary places, an ignorant, semi-savage, half uncivilized generation; an evil to which a Jew will never submit.

5. In every view which can be taken of the contemplated Colony,

it is evident, that it is not only unnecessary and impracticable; but if it should be forced into existence, would not meliorate but actually deteriorate the condition of the Jews. *That* if the directors could obtain a tract of 20,000 acres for nothing; if that tract was in the most accessible, fertile, and pleasant neighbourhood, instead of the worst part of the state; if a little army of wood-cutters and farmers were to volunteer their services, and partially clear the huge forest in ten years—and less time could not possibly suffice—if grist and sawmills were erected, and mechanics of every necessary kind had put up their respective shops and materials; if churches and school houses were built, ministers and schoolmasters settled; and, finally, if some heroic members of the Directory were willing to devote their whole time and talents to superintend the commencement and progress of the Colonial phenomenon, and take upon themselves the oversight and government of the Jews, and afford them all the domestic, medicinal, and moral aid they certainly will need; if all these various articles, which, if paid for, would cost at least \$200,000, were actually completed and offered gratuitously to the Society, upon condition only that the Jews must dwell there, it would be imprudent; it would be inexpedient, and ruinous to accept the fatal gift. It would debar the Jews from the identical benefits for which they emigrate; blast the whole enterprise, and make us and the American public, with our correspondents in Europe, wish we had never projected the melioration of the Jews; or rather that we had conducted with more wisdom.

Some other scheme must be devised; and without implicitly adopting the suggestions of our foreign friends, we must think and judge for ourselves. Much time has already been unnecessarily lost, by admitting the unmeaning words of *Colony* and *Asylum*. Had it not been for this, we might at a single glance have discovered the true and only method of directing the important concern; and, instead of spending three years in meditating on a romantic Colony, as many hours would have sufficed to fix upon a rational and efficacious plan; and before this day, if vigorously pursued, it would have been in full operation.

It has disgusted me, as well as probably yourself, to dwell so long, and to repeat so many things upon the subject of a Colony. But the attachment of our good Directors to the term and idea; and

the fear, that, notwithstanding every argument, they yet mean to adhere to the plan, must plead my excuse. It often requires more toil and calculation to demolish a bad building, and remove the rubbish, than to erect a new and commodious edifice. Whether I have expressed enough, in terms sufficiently mild and respectable; or perhaps too much, and possibly too severe, I am now ready to communicate a very different, and, I hope a more acceptable scheme.

It has been said, when the converted Jew arrives in America, "he has none to take him by the hand; his own nation will not, and Christians shun him." But this is surely a rash and unfounded assertion. Every real Christian is ready to welcome him; and none who profess the sacred name amongst us will despise or shun him. Are there none to take him by the hand? Where is our Society? Where are our Directors? We certainly stand ready to take him by the hand. This is the very design of our Association. There are German, and Scotch, and English, and Irish national Societies for the express purpose of assisting the poor of their respective nations; and directing them upon their arrival, to the most suitable places for their settlement and accommodation. What they perform for their countrymen, we are appointed, and willing, and able to accomplish for the Jews.

What is the object of the Jews who desire to come to us; and what is our corresponding wish? It is that they may enjoy the privileges of Christians, and be instructed in the doctrines of our holy religion. The great object cannot be obtained in a lonely desert, or by any arrangement which the scheme of a separate Colony can effect. A better plan, another more consistent with common sense, more corresponding with existing facts, and more agreeable to the word of God must be devised, or our whole enterprise will fail, and must be dismissed. What that better plan is, may be expressed in few words. It may be comprehended in one short paragraph, and is no more nor less than this: "That the Jews, upon their arrival, be immediately, completely, and unequivocally amalgamated with us; and, like all other foreign emigrants who come to reside here, be united and blended with the great mass of American citizens."

CXXXVII

Jewish Opposition to Missionary Activity, 1820

The very year in which the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews was founded saw the publication of a strong counterblast to the Society's missionary activity. This publication, *Israel Vindicated*,¹⁶⁶ consisted of a series of discussions, cast into the form of letters, of the injustice of the Christian claim to superiority over the Jews and of the unfortunate distinction between the organic law of the United States and the constitutions of various states, notably Maryland and Massachusetts, on the equality of religions. The whole is presented, in the Preface, as designed to vindicate the Jews from the "misrepresentations" fostered by the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. Although this book is usually regarded as the production of its publisher, Abraham Collins,¹⁶⁷ there is really no conclusive evidence of its authorship. It has been suggested that the author was one George Houston,¹⁶⁸ a non-Jew.¹⁶⁹ It is particularly interesting to observe that the interpretation placed on the American conception of freedom of religion in *Israel Vindicated* is the strict Jeffersonian view that religious freedom implies the absolute equality of all religions before the law.

257. "ISRAEL VINDICATED," 1820 ¹⁷⁰

Preface

No apology is deemed necessary for laying the following letters before the public. In a country, where every man's right to publish his sentiments is held as sacred as his right to think, it cannot be thought surprising that a part of the community, who have long been treated as the outcasts of society, should feel anxious to vin-

dedicate themselves from what they consider misrepresentation. It were to be wished that, in conducting a defence of this nature, all allusion to common received opinions could have been avoided; that religious discussions should have been laid aside, and the rights of the parties settled upon the broad principle of equality. This, however, must always remain impossible, where the party attacking, grounds his charges upon theological distinctions, and claims a superiority in this respect over his opponent.

The "*American Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews*," have assumed this superiority, and, upon that assumption, they have erected a barrier, which, if not broken down, must for ever expose the Jews in this country, to obloquy and contempt, for their adherence to that form of worship which, only, they consider divine. Previous to applying for a charter of incorporation, this society professed merely to have in view the *conversion* of the Jews to the Christian faith. Foreseeing, however, that they would be defeated in their object, if they requested the legislature to sanction an institution formed for *religious* purposes, they found it necessary to *disguise* their real intentions, by adopting a different name from that which originally belonged to the society. They substituted the word *ameliorating* for *evangelizing*, by which suspicion was lulled, and, contrary to the true spirit and meaning of the *constitution*, a law was enacted, giving countenance to one religion at the expence of another; thus establishing an ascendancy over a portion of the community directly subversive of the genuine principles of liberty. The tendency of this measure is obviously to place the Jew below the level of the Christian. It presupposes the former to be in a degraded and uncultivated state, and the latter completely civilized. It recognises the impolitic principle, evidently discountenanced by the constitution, that Christianity ought to be the predominant religion; that those who do not profess it must necessarily be immoral persons, undeserving of the rights of citizens, and whose condition is incapable of amendment, or amelioration, under the profession of any other faith. However derogatory this proceeding may be of the character of those composing the Ameliorating Society, the fact is, nevertheless, put beyond all dispute, by the tenor of the constitution and bye-laws which they have adopted, since they obtained their charter of incorporation.

No one will deny that the Jews have as just a claim to protection as the Christians. But if laws are passed, authorizing the latter to treat the former as a degraded race; if a union of men, honourable from their high standing, and whose very formation as a society, gives countenance to the prevailing calumnies; if such a combination continues to disseminate its pernicious principles, it is impossible that this persecuted people can ever obtain their rights. While pointed at by the finger of scorn; while treated by their fellow-citizens as beings of an inferior cast, they can never employ their talents to advantage for the public good. Let these talents be of the highest grade, let their integrity be of the strictest kind, the stigma attempted to be fixed on them, on account of their religion, must always place them in a state inferior to that of other men, and preclude them, from filling public offices. It cannot be too often repeated, that the Jew is despised *only* because his natural rights are wrested from him. Restore these; treat him as a being possessed of the same passions, and of the same faculties as other men; forget his religion: he considers it obligatory—the Christian does no more. His law forbids him to proselytise, and the laws of civil society can be no way affected by his particular belief. Imitate him in this, and let the feeling of benevolence and humanity be extended towards him. By adopting a course, dictated by the maxims of sound policy, instead of rousing the angry passions of man, and exciting his prejudices, it would then be found that the Jew is as competent as the Christian to discharge the duties of civil society, and entertains as high a respect for all the social virtues. . . .

It will readily be conceded, that in most countries of Europe, the Jews have carried commercial speculation too far, and neglected the mechanic arts. But it is unjust to attribute this to their religious principles. A system which enjoins upon its votaries the worship of the Deity, and universal benevolence to all mankind, cannot be charged with sanctioning any thing contrary to moral rectitude. It is in the barbarous treatment of the descendants of Abraham, in almost every country in the world, that we are to find the cause of their marked deviation from established habits. Obligated, from the persecutions to which they were subjected, frequently to change their place of residence, and often to seek an asylum in other coun-

tries, they were never permitted to follow those useful branches of labour, which can only be cultivated successfully where the person is secure from danger, and the mind free from unnecessary terror. In those European states, particularly in Poland, Holland, and even in England, where the Jews enjoy comparative liberty, mechanics of every description are to be found, who are respected and esteemed for their industrious and sober habits. In the United States of America, a numerous race is springing up to manhood. The parents of these children are fully alive to the importance of teaching them habits of industry. But to induce them to act accordant with their feelings, every thing must be put out of the way calculated to weaken their confidence. All religious distinctions tending to interrupt social intercourse; all tests precluding the free exercise of the rights of citizenship; all laws countenancing a predominant religion; and all associations, which have other objects in view than the union of the whole community upon the principles of perfect equality: all these must be obliterated and extinguished before the Jew can be restored to his proper place in society, and to his long lost privileges.

New-York, December, 1820. . . .

Letter XXIX

I confess, dear Isaacs, that I have hitherto been much deceived as to the boasted liberty of conscience enjoyed in this country. When I contemplated the language of the general constitution, which distinctly states, that every citizen is to be held eligible to fill public offices, without regard to his religious opinions, I had no idea that a principle, which all the states had recognised collectively as a leading bond of their union, could have been so easily invaded by *particular* states. Of what avail is it for congregated tribes to pledge themselves, in solemn convocation, to maintain the principles of universal toleration, when they assume to themselves, on this convocation being dissolved, the right to violate this sacred bond of union? They may attempt to shelter themselves under some pretence relative to the independence of the states taken separately, and the right they have by the general constitution, to enact their

own laws. But if, in enacting these laws, they run counter to first principles, and, under the subterfuge of adhering to the *letter*, innovate upon the *spirit* of the original contract, they as effectually withhold their assent to the general constitution as if they had openly declared against it. First principles are invariable in all circumstances and in all situations. They admit of no qualification; and whenever it is attempted, by sophistry or the cant of hypocrisy, to weaken or disguise their obvious meaning, we may then safely conclude, that interest and prejudice are predominant; that mankind are hurried along by these inordinate feelings, instead of being guided by the torch of reason and of truth.

Nothing seems more obvious than the abuse of the word *toleration*: this word ought, in fact, to be expunged from the vocabulary of nations. The right to *think* belongs to no one exclusively. It is the property of all. He that attempts to deprive me of that right, or to limit its exercise, meditates a control of my actions. If it is once admitted, that I ought to submit my opinions to the regulation of others, there would be only one step farther to a total surrender of every civil right. He that pretends he has a right to *tolerate* opinions, must yield that right to others, or deny the natural equality of man. If *all* should insist that the power belongs to them, peace and concord would be banished from the earth, and war perpetuated, not to establish an uniformity, but an ascendancy of contradictory and opposing systems.

Had Jehovah intended to establish *uniformity* of opinion, it would have been impossible for mankind to differ. In all countries, and in all ages, the ideas of man have been as varied as their countenances—an evident proof that they never can be made to *think* alike. He, therefore, that attempts to regulate, or tolerate the opinions of others, sets himself in opposition to the Deity. A Jew has as good a right to tolerate a Catholic or Protestant as either of these sects has to tolerate a Jew. Both are equal in the eyes of God, and both have an equal claim to the protection of the laws.

It is only in despotic governments that these incontrovertible principles have not been adopted. It has been tyrants only, that have attempted to withhold from man the free exercise of his thinking faculties. The right of *giving*, clearly implies the power of *with-*

holding. If any man tells me that he will *tolerate* my opinions, this implies that he claims the power of *restraining* them. Hence the origin of *persecution*, which is only the offspring or child of toleration. . . .

Letter XXX

In no way is hypocrisy better fostered than in compelling men to submit to religious tests before they can be eligible to fill public offices. No one will pretend that the truly virtuous require the obligation of an oath, or religious tests, to restrain them from violating public or private trusts. Such tests are only for the wicked, whom, however, they never control. What advantages then can morality derive from, or what confidence can be placed in men, to whom the administering of an oath implies a *suspicion* of their integrity? Are we certain, that ambitious knaves will relinquish their iniquitous projects, merely because it is required of them to swear that they believe the doctrines, which they have been taught from their infancy to believe? Can power and emolument be obtained on easier terms? Is it possible to conceive a greater inducement to the unprincipled, to become candidates for the highest honours in the state? And what more powerful stimulant to their ambition, than to see the man of talent and of character, kept back from being useful to society, for no other reason than that he does not *profess* to believe what he cannot understand, or, believing it, does not think that it would add greater weight to the truth, to appeal to that Being, who already knows the inmost secrets of his heart, and who, whether he swears truly or not, has not enabled man to judge as to his sincerity. How often do we find the most flaming professions of religion intimately connected with the most depraved hearts. The man who is bent only on promoting his own selfish views, will not hesitate at the means of obtaining his object. Aware that it is necessary to *disguise* his sentiments, in his intercourse with his fellow-citizens, he will readily conform to their religious observances, without which he knows he cannot succeed. With such a man, the genuine ties of religion are of no account. He either disregards them altogether, or calculates on availing himself of their efficacy at some future period of his life. Where then is the

advantage, either religious or political, of continuing tests? The good do not require them, and the wicked easily contrive to evade the purpose for which they are introduced. . . .

Letter XXXII

It has always appeared to me a great disadvantage to our nation, that so little has been given to the world by those among us, who are so well able to combat with our literary adversaries. To this circumstance alone, may be attributed that odium which is attached to us in almost every quarter of the globe. Men have been progressing in knowledge since the commencement of the fifteenth century. In the arts and sciences, and even in matters of faith, many wonderful revolutions have taken place, all tending to humanize and render the mind more liberal. But in one particular there seems to have been no progression. The scandal, the heaps of lies, which had their birth at an early period of the Nazarene era, and which have since been industriously propagated over the whole earth; these monstrous and absurd calumnies against our nation, instead of having subsided along with the gradual disappearance of error, seem to have gathered strength in many countries, are not totally extinguished in any, and even in the United States, where universal toleration has established its benign sway, these barbarous prejudices of the first ages are not without their influence. To what, dear Isaacs, ought we to attribute this shameful state of matters, but to the want of energy on our part to dispel these mists of darkness. Why is it that we are every where treated as an ignorant and stupid race, incapable of mental energy, and even despised by many sensible and acute observers? For no other reason (and it must be confessed the reason is good) than that few efforts have been made to rescue us from public obloquy. Our greatest literary characters have hitherto stood aloof, and allowed every thing that malice could invent, to be widely circulated, without essaying to stem the overwhelming torrent.

It is true, that the rigorous laws and restraints upon our nation in Europe, afford a good reason for the inactivity of our Rabbies in that quarter, although I still think, they have evinced symptoms of lukewarmness, and frequently neglected to take advantage of times and circumstances, when they might have employed their pens with

effect. But no excuse can be found for so long a neglect of this in the United States, where our nation form a population of upwards of three thousand, are daily increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in importance, and when no obstacles stand in the way of our publishing a just defence of our principles, and of vindicating ourselves, through the press, from base and unfounded charges. Proselytism can never influence a true Israelite in the present state of the world. He never can be found supporting societies for propagating his faith. His confidence is placed in the infinite power of Jehovah, who can turn the hearts of men to the true worship, when it pleaseth him, and who will accomplish this in his own time, without regard to the puny and presumptuous efforts of mortals, who vainly think that they are capable of giving an impulse to the Almighty, and of hastening the fulfilment of his eternal decrees. There is, however, a defence of our just rights, and a rank in society, which we are entitled to hold, and to maintain by every lawful means in our power. The law provides for the security of our property, and we never hesitate to resort to it when we suffer injury. The same law guards our character and reputation. Shall we, then, be slow in vindicating what is dearer to us than wealth? Shall we remain for ever passive in what is of greater importance to us than existence, while we continue alive to the security of what cannot add a day to the number of our years, or ensure permanent happiness? Rouse then, my brethren; rouse from the lethargy into which our nation has been so long plunged. The times are favourable to the exertion. It is absurd to suppose, that nothing can resist the efforts of the Nazarenes to spread their faith. Has not experience taught us, that they must fail? Nearly twenty centuries have elapsed, since the founders of their system assured them, that the kingdom of their Messiah was then to be established; that the knowledge of his doctrines would be conveyed to all ends of the earth. But how have these predictions been fulfilled? Of seven hundred millions of people that now inhabit this globe, the Nazarenes cannot count more than 213 millions, even at the utmost stretch, to whom the *name* of Jesus has been communicated; while the other 550 millions, and which, of course, include our nation, are, according to them, sitting in the valley and shadow of death. And this, notwithstanding all the labours of the Bible and Missionary Societies in Great Britain,

and in America, was the state of matters in the month of April, 1816.¹⁷¹

To be indifferent when our rights are questioned, shows that we are undeserving of them. To submit to insult and defamation, without one struggle in our behalf, is clearly criminal. We possess the means of doing ourselves justice, by exposing the vile machinations of our enemies. Let us, then, wield the weapons of reason and of truth on every occasion that offers. In this way, and in this way only, can we dispel prejudice, overcome hostility, and resume that rank in society of which we have been so long despoiled, and which was conferred by the God of our fathers as an unalienable inheritance.

CXXXVIII

Counterattack, 1823

The first Jewish periodical to be published in America was *The Jew*, edited by S. H. Jackson.¹⁷² It survived for two years, from March, 1823, to March, 1825. The immediate occasion for beginning this periodical was the refutation of missionary attacks. This is clear from the subtitle of *The Jew*, which reads: "Being a Defence of Judaism against all Adversaries, and particularly against the insidious attacks of *Israel's Advocate*." Now, *Israel's Advocate* was one of the deceptively-named missionary journals, whose title was supposed to induce Jews to buy and read it under the mistaken notion that it expressed a Jewish viewpoint. Again, in Jackson's Preface to *The Jew*, the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews is referred to as one of the agencies calumniating the Jews. To the missionary movement of the time we may, therefore, attribute the beginning of Jewish journalism in America. The extracts below are taken from the first number of *The Jew*, a reply to three numbers of *Israel's Advocate*.

258. A DEFENSE OF JUDAISM, 1823¹⁷³

Let me ask the question, gentlemen, Is it really your intention to convert (as you are pleased to term it) the Jews? For by your method of procedure it does not appear to me, (after the experience we have had for one thousand years of the inutility of such plans,) that you are at all serious; for the following reasons: 1st. Do all you can, and even all you propose to yourselves, you will at last have but very few of the many millions that are dispersed over the world; it will not be as a single drop of water in a bucket, full to overflowing. 2d. Those you do convert will only be such as are swayed by the interested motives of bettering their situation by becoming settlers in your colony. And what can you expect, gentlemen from so *impure* a fountain? 3d. If you really are serious, why

not begin with those you have at home? for here you have many manifest advantages. Here they are not afraid one of the other, as you tell us they are in Germany, Poland, &c. Here they are in no danger of being persecuted, if they change their religion, by their Jewish brethren, as you and they seem fond of calling them. Here they will not (I trust) be despised by those among whom they come, and whose church they join, as you tell us is the case in Europe. And why should you go to so great expense to *buy* souls, when you have them as good (*at least*) without money? for whether we are rich or poor, we are independent of each other, and, with the blessing of God, get an honest livelihood, and consequently want none of your money as a reward of apostacy, either to be *given* to, or *laid out* for us in any shape. 4th. How comes it, your compassion is to be spent for those whom you do not know, neither do you see; but for such as you have among you, you seem to have no bowels of compassion, although we are, as it were, at your own doors? Are we not as interesting as Poles? We understand your language; it is, indeed, our own; we are in a manner one people. We are also the children of Abraham, descended from the same stock as the Polish and German Jews; indeed, many of us are Poles; many of us are Germans. Why not then undertake us? why not try to convert us? You will have no occasion to manufacture *Hebrew Tracts*, at a vast expense, and which you do not yourselves understand; a little plain English will answer your purpose with us. Are you afraid you will be paid in your own coin? that you will receive as good as you send; and that when you gain one, (if you should gain any,) you might lose one hundred? You, in that case, must be conscious of the weakness of your cause, and you *fear* and *avoid* the *trial*.

That this, in truth, is the real state of the case, that you really *dread* the controversy, appears from this: that Kol Jacob, which followed your idol¹⁷⁴ to New-York, remains unanswered.¹⁷⁵ Who has purchased up all the copies of the American edition of that work? If you are really *serious*, and wish to *convert* the Jews, do it *fairly* and *effectually*, by *answering* their objections. At least, answer that work *satisfactorily*, and although M. Nicklesburger is not here to redeem his pledge, in any corner of New-York one will start up in his stead.

You say, (speaking of the Jews,) "Their antipathies to the Gospel have been increased by habit of upwards of seventeen hundred years standing." Is this *fair* language to be used by one who styles himself Israel's *Advocate*? But say, habit of antipathy only means *disbelief*. Their *disbelief* of the Gospel has increased: for, why have they an antipathy to the Gospel? Because they do not believe it. And why do they not believe it? but because they say it is indefensible. Their objections against it have never been *satisfactorily answered*; and consequently they *say, cannot* be answered. You *mock* us by offering to *bribe* us like *children* with *toys*; you offer us *farms*; keep your *toys*, keep your *farms*; give us the pearl of great price, that we want. But do not offer us false pearl mounted in gilt copper: your gold must stand the touchstone of truth, and your jewel altogether must stand the proof of the law and the acid of the testimony of the prophets and scriptures. *Convince* us that the *pearl* you offer us is the *reality*, we consider it *mock* pearl, false Italian paste; that is the *only* reason we refuse it; *show* us that we have not *hitherto* given it a fair *trial*; bring it "to the law and to the testimony;" for "if it speak not according to this word, 'tis because there is no light in it." But if once you *convince* us your pearl is *real*, is *true*, and ours false, you will have no occasion to *purchase* us to accept of it at your hands: we shall be willing enough to obtain it at any price. For myself, I will make an offer; I will give all my desires, all my passions, my heart's affections, and the whole of self. If a greater price is required, name it; if I have it to part with, I close the bargain, only to obtain the *gem*, if it is real: but I must be my own judge, for I account myself one; I am no *child* to be *purchased* with a *trinket* of *brass*, to give up my *glory* for a farm, or a settlement, or a *missionary* employ, or a *congregation*, the best in the world; nay, not even for the *whole world* itself.

You say, "Their hostility to the religion of Jesus has been likewise most avowed and public." This you will be obliged to fritter away till it only means, That their disbelief of the religion of Jesus is most avowed and public. So far you are correct; for, as to hostility, they have not shown, neither have they any. They never have persecuted you, because you did believe in him, and the Gospel; but you acknowledge you have persecuted them, for one thousand years. You, then, were hostile to the religion of the Lord of Hosts,

by persecuting his people, while Israel was led "as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth." And why is their disbelief of Jesus and his religion thus avowed and public? Because they are convinced from Scripture (in your acceptation of the word) that he was *not* the Messiah; and farther they are satisfied, that what *you* call his religion is contrary to the law and testimony. If they are mistaken, show them their error; defend your Gospel; do *not hunt souls*, neither *insult* them by offering them a mess of pottage for their *birthright*. Remember, Kol Jacob was written by a Jew, confessedly, in answer to tracts given him by your own Frey for that purpose. What signifies sending him abroad to preach to Gentiles, in order to convert Jews, while he leaves that work *unanswered*? At home, at New-York, his and your works lays on your hands unfinished, nay, not begun. Am I then not correct, when I say, you are not *serious* in the work of conversion. . . .

You accuse the Jews of being without God. "Oh! shame, where is thy blush?" Nay, but you say, without hope. Wo! wo is me! Hope! the veriest, the greatest criminal, is allowed hope! "But our hope is gone; we are cut off for our parts." What! can it be possible, that we, "to whom" 'tis allowed, belongeth, ['appertained'] "the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving the law, and the service of God, and the *promises*." are without hope? If the service of God *appertaineth* to us, (for that is the language of the Apostle,) how can we be without God? And if we ever had the promises, then, as sure as God (who promised) is truth, (and you will not deny him this attribute,) we must have hope! And so, Rev. sirs, you *seriously* tell the world *there is no God in Israel*. As sure as He is the *only true* God, you will repent, sorely repent this saying. I hope you will not put off this repentance, till you will really be without *hope* of its being of any avail to you.

You say, "Judging from the signs of the times, the period is not far distant, when 'there shall come out of Zion a deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.'" I am really pleased to see that, according to your present application of this text, you acknowledge the deliverer is not yet come.

CXXXIX

“Why Jews Do Not Accept Jesus,”

1827

The letter reproduced below, of unknown authorship, appeared in the columns of *The Correspondent*, a New York publication, on February 3, 1827. It is interesting as a piece of controversial writing because it carries the battle to the opponents. It is not content, as was the editor of *The Jew*, merely to reply to calumny. This author goes further and attacks the Gospels as revealing by internal contradictions that they are not works of God. Unfortunately the letter is very brief. It lists a large number of reasons why Jews do not accept Christianity, but does not argue any of them.

259. A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, 1827¹⁷⁶

Mr. Editor, Your correspondent Celsus having stated only *one* of the reasons that induce the people of my nation to reject Christianity, I hope you will do us the justice, (which has been hitherto denied by most of the journals,) of giving publicity to the following outline of the principal objections which we have uniformly urged, when called on to renounce the religion of our fathers and embrace that of Jesus:

It was never ordained to the Jews by their law to believe in a messiah. It is no where to be found, that Israel was threatened to be no longer the chosen people, if it did not believe in the future messiah. In no place it is said, that the Judaical law is the adumbration or figure of another law: on the contrary, it is every where said, that the law of Moses is to be eternal. Every prophet, even he who should work miracles, in order to change any thing in the law of Moses, was ordered to be punished with death. True it is, that some prophets foretold to the Jews, in their calamities, that they should have one day a deliverer; but that this deliverer would be the sup-

port of the Mosaic law, instead of being the destroyer. The Jews are in constant expectation of a messiah, who is to be a powerful and a just king. One proof of the eternal immutability of the Mosaic religion is, that the Jews, dispersed all over the earth, have for all that not changed a single tittle in their law, and the Israelite of Rome, of England, of Holland, of Germany, of Poland, of Turkey, of Persia, &c. have constantly held the same doctrines since the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, without there having risen up among them any the least sect that has deviated from one single opinion, of the Israelite nation.

On the contrary, the Christians have been divided among themselves from the very first of their religion's coming into existence. They are, at this moment, split into more sects than there are Christian states, and they have persecuted each other with fire and sword for above fifteen centuries. If the apostle Paul allowed it to be right that the Jews should continue to observe the precepts of their law, the Christians of these days ought not to reproach them for doing what this apostle had permitted them to do. It is not out of hatred and malice that Israel had not acknowledged Jesus; neither is it out of base and carnal views that the Jews adhere to their ancient law. It has been only in the hope of the blessings of heaven that they have remained faithful to it, notwithstanding the persecutions by the Babylonians, the Syrians and Romans; notwithstanding their dispersion and disgrace; and notwithstanding the hatred of so many nations. A whole people ought not to be called carnal, who, for near forty centuries, have been martyrs of God. It is the Christians who have carnal advantages in view; witness almost all the first fathers of the church, who hoped to live a thousand years in a new Jerusalem, amidst abundance, and amidst all bodily delights.

It is impossible that the Jews should have crucified the true messiah, since the prophets expressly say, that messiah should come to cleanse Israel of all sin; that he would not leave a single stain in Israel. It would be the most horrible sin, the most abominable pollution, as well as the most palpable contradiction, that God should send the messiah to be crucified.

The precepts of the ten commandments being *perfect*, any new version was entirely useless. The Mosaic law never had any mys-

tical sense; it would be deceiving mankind, to tell them things were to be understood in a sense different from that in which they were expressed. The Christian apostles never equalled the miracles of Moses; the evangelists were not all simple people, since Luke was a physician, and Paul had studied under Gamaliel, of whom the Jews had preserved the writings. There is not the shadow of simplicity or idiotism in the apostles requiring the new converts to bring all their money in to them. Paul was so far from being a plain dealer, that he employed the greatest artifice on his coming to sacrifice at the temple, and swearing before Festus and Agrippa, that he had done nothing against circumcision, and against the law of Judaism. In short the contradictions which are to be found in the gospels, prove that these books could not be inspired by God.

Levi.



Part Eight

Widening Geographic Horizons

For its original settlers, in the seventeenth century, the vast territory, unpeopled save by Indians, that was to become the United States of America was in truth a New World. It was a world of virgin forest and pure flowing streams, a land not of milk and honey but of fertile soil, rich in animal life that could be used for food or for clothing, its waters teeming with food fish. Life was hard, it is true, especially for those who were accustomed to the services and the security of city life in Europe, but the rewards of labor were available to all. In the seventeenth century, in the New World, the immigrant immediately became the pioneer. The eastern coast of America was the western frontier of Europe.

Although the immediacy of the geographic relation between immigrant and pioneer was lost as time passed and civilization—the culture of cities—dominated the eastern seaboard, immigration and pioneering remained for two centuries related forces important in the upbuilding of the United States. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, America remained Europe's frontier. Every immigrant had something of the pioneering spirit of the frontiersman. He was leaving the known for the unknown, the old for the new, the tradition-hallowed community for the antinomian settlement. One of two conditions had to prevail before so extreme a step could be taken: The immigrant himself had to have the temperament of the pioneer, a temperament unsuited to the orderly life, fond of risk-taking, even to the supreme gamble of life itself, shunning the constant abrasion of individuality in contact with his fellow-humans, a lover of isolation and wildness; or the situation in the land of origin had to be so impossible, so closed against the possibility of living a normal life, that even the unadventurous, the domesticated, could see the change would not make the situation worse, because it could get no worse, and might improve it.

For many years, then, immigrants to America were either adven-

turers or desperate men driven, willy nilly, into adventuring, pioneers by choice or pioneers by necessity. Much of the character of the United States, in the nineteenth century especially, can be explained in terms of the immigrant and the pioneer. The restless and relentless march to the Pacific was the march of the immigrant as much as of the pioneer. Those who had once torn themselves from their roots in Europe were more ready, and better equipped, to uproot themselves once again in pursuit of the "main chance." Crossing the Alleghenies, or the Great Plains, or the Rockies was, for many, less of a wrench than crossing the Atlantic. From the first decision to emigrate to the final settling down, wherever it might be, on the American continent was a single movement, the resultant of widening geographic horizons.

For the Jews of America, during the early national period and after, the general considerations that have been mentioned hold true. The various types of Jewish experience in the United States are continuous with the decision to abandon the Old World and seek a New. A Jew who came to America had to be tough with the toughness of the pioneer, to be ready to face whatever chances life in America might bring to him. He had to be flexible, to be prepared to adjust his thinking, as well as his activities, on a moment's notice to meet a new situation. Among the Jews who came to the United States between 1789 and 1840, there were very few scholars and men of learning, and those few immigrated at the end of the period, when New York City already housed a community of 2,000 Jews. There was a surprisingly large number of temperamental pioneers and adventurers who staked their lives on the western and southern frontiers. Most of the Jews who came to the United States in the half-century with which we are here concerned, however, accepted immigration and pioneering in desperate preference to the conditions from which they came.

There were Jewish immigrants who came to America from England, Holland, and France in this period; but by far the largest number migrated from Germany and German Poland. Until 1830, the whole number of Jewish immigrants was very small. In 1790, the best estimate of the total Jewish population of the United States is about 3,000; by 1830, we may estimate twice that number. The additional 3,000, spread over a period of forty years, accounts for nat-

ural increase by the excess of births over deaths as well as for immigration—perhaps it would be better to say the excess of immigration over shrinkage by dropping out of the Jewish group or by leaving the country. The average number of Jewish immigrants in each year of this forty year period was probably less than 100. During the final decade of our concern, however, the rate of immigration, though still far below what it was to become later in the nineteenth century, rose sharply. Between 1830 and 1840, the Jewish population of the United States rose from 6,000 to about 15,000. To effect this increase, there must have been six to seven hundred immigrants per year entering the country. It was in this decade that the preponderance of German immigrants over those from other countries became marked. Among the documents in this Part there are a number that account, in part at least, for this rising tide of emigration from Germany.

Jewish immigrants, whether of this period or of an earlier time, came, often without knowledge of the language, into a strange land. Most of them brought little or no capital, and were dependent on their own exertions not only for their day-to-day livelihood, but also for the accumulation of a sufficient capital surplus to enable them to go into business for themselves. Those who came from certain parts of Germany, notably Bavaria, were for the most part skilled workers, who found no difficulty in getting fairly well-paid jobs in their various trades. Others, who came without immediately marketable skills, became peddlers or day-laborers, or clerks in the stores of their already established co-religionists, until they could save enough to enter business. Finally, there were those who went to outlying parts of the country, there to farm, or to enter the fur trade, or to do business with the Indians. Almost every one found ultimately, if not the place for which he was best fitted, at least a place where he could manage to earn an adequate living and to make an adequate life. There were, of course, some failures; but in as open a country as the United States then was, failure in one location was simply a reason for moving on and trying again somewhere else.

If the Jewish community of New York and of newer trans-Allegheny cities like Cincinnati flourished at this time, and other cities such as Baltimore witnessed the growth of an entirely different sort

of Jewish community from the one that had existed there earlier, there were also Jewish communities that declined, notably Newport and Charleston. The decline of the Jewish communities of both towns was the result of external changes. Newport after the Revolution and Charleston after 1830 lost their places as major ports of American foreign trade. The Newport Jewish community was reduced, in the early national period, to a handful of members of perhaps three families. The Charleston Jewish community did not vanish; but whereas in the mid 1820s, it was the largest center of Jewish population in the country, housing between 1,200 and 1,500 Jews, compared to New York's 900 at the same time, after 1830 its sands were running out. Its Jewish population was declining slowly, as scions of the older Jewish families moved into the "New" South and were not replaced by newcomers. Jewish experience in America was largely the experience of creating living communities, but it also included the experience of mourning dying communities.

Finally, it is worth noting that in several ways immigration itself served as a catalyst to new immigration. Direct reports from neighbors who had gone to America had more effect in swaying the doubtful than news reports or shipping line propaganda. The knowledge that there were others in America who had been brought up to worship in one's own fashion destroyed the argument that to emigrate was to cut oneself off from Judaism. Indeed, when a large part of the Jewish population of a German town (say Ichenhausen, the largest Jewish community in Swabia, where of 200 Jewish families, about 100 individuals, migrated to America in 1839, and at least 60 more joined them in 1840) went to the United States, it became increasingly difficult for those who remained to continue to maintain a Jewish school and other institutions. In effect, for many, to remain in Europe would have been to cut oneself off from the ancestral faith. Moreover, members of families who made a success in America sent funds to their European relatives to ease their passage. Thus every encouragement to further immigration was given by those who had already come to the shores of the New World.

CXL

Settling an Immigrant's Estate,

1799-1800

A young relative of the Gratz family, who called himself Joseph Henry,¹ died in America after a few years during which he carried on business in a small way in his new country.² Some time after he died, Simon³ and Hyman Gratz,⁴ acting for their father,⁵ who was the administrator of Joseph Henry's estate, engaged in settling Henry's debts, selling his property,⁶ and remitting the proceeds to Joseph Henry's father, Jonas Hirschel Bluch, of Langendorff, near Tost, in Upper Silesia, Germany.⁷ The smallness of the estate and the nature of the property held by Joseph Henry are revealed in the two letters printed below, containing the account of the stewardship rendered by Simon and Hyman Gratz, and the acknowledgements of Jonas Hirschel Bluch. Small as was the estate, it became a matter of international concern when, in 1797, Jonas Hirschel Bluch wrote to the "High Mighty Lords, Supreme Lords of the Republic of America in Philadelphia" asking for information,⁸ and when John Quincy Adams, then Ambassador of the United States of America in Berlin, addressed official replies, in 1798 and 1799, to questions of the Prussian ministry.⁹

260. SIMON AND HYMAN GRATZ TO
JONAS HIRSCHEL BLUCH, 1799¹⁰

15 Sept 1799

Jonas Hirschel Bluch

Dear Sir:

Annexed hereto is a full Statement of the accounts of the Estate of your late Son Joseph Henry. each account is proved according to the Laws & usages of this Country & remains in our hands. The debts we have paid, we know to have been due, our late friend

Joseph having in his life time informed us of them; there is no other debts owing that we are acquainted with. The only Money that is yet come into our hands of the two instalments due in May 1799 last & May 1800. is 55 $\frac{8}{100}$ Drs on a/c first & 34 $\frac{2}{100}$ Drs the Interest on the last. This Delinquency of the Purchaser was owing to the failure of Crops & other Causes but we are in hopes of receiving the Ballance of Last May's payment in the Course of this fall, & we will remit you the amount without Delay.

On 12th April last we remitted to you Via Hamburg a bill of Exchange (drawn by & on the Same house that those where which we Sent for 250 Dolars) & the brig Liberty for 435 $\frac{8}{10}$ mark Banko or 150 Dollars, of the fate of this bill we are Still ignorant, but which we hope has reached your hands Safe. We now remit inclosed herein the first of a bill[?] Exchange drawn by Joseph Donarth & Co. dated Augt 16 Inst: at 60 days for Six hundred Marks Banco equal to 200 Dollars this Currency, of this Sum you will be pleased to pay to our Good Aunt Leah¹¹ one hundred fifty mark, or 50 Drs in the name of her Brothers Barnard & Michael Gratz as a present from them the ballance pass to the Credit of our account as Agents for our Father administrator of the Estate of the late Joseph Henry.

We now acknowledge the receipt of your letter to Our Uncle Barnard Gratz dated 1st January last which came to hand about the 1st Inst: At Present our Uncle Barnard Gratz is at the City Baltimore distant about 110 English miles South of this City, on a Visit to his daughter Rachael¹² who is married to a Gentleman residing there.¹³ We forwarded your letter to him; he has not been home for near one year, as he is old he generally makes long Visits when he leaves home. He nor our Father are engaged in any Kind of Business at Present neither have they for Several years past. Prior to the year 1797 we where both Engaged in business at an inland town in the Country¹⁴ we cannot therefore say with certainty whether or no, any letter where received from you or that they had written to you, but this we know well "that Every attention & exertion was made in the extreme, since your Son's Death [to] Dispose of his property to the best advantage for your Interest." Since that time two or three Letters from you have come to hand particularly those addressed to the President of the United States, & to the mayor of this City. They where politely handed to us & we gave the explina-

tions to them & the motives (as we Supposed) that caused them, & also of the real Situation of your affairs in this Country. Any letters directed to us & put on board a Vessel bound to any port in the United States will reach us Safe. There is no necessity to be attached to Such Direction the name of any other persons, whether in office or otherways.¹⁵ We hope that the proceeds of the Estate of you late Son will place you in a Comfortable Situation & that you may no more know Want

We would at once forward as you direct the Bond & Warrant received in Security for the Instalment & that to become due in May 1800, but we know that this would avail you nothing, as no money could be procured upon them in Europe & we are under an obligation to the purchaser not to part with these bonds to any person who would Distress him, as he has paid so great a price for the Land, that every Degree of Lenity ought to be Shewn him. Exclusive of the property already Sold of your Late Son, there remains one lott of Ground in the town of Aaronsburg that was made a present to him by the Proprietor Mr Aaron Levy.¹⁶ This Lott may possibly be worth 20. 30 or 40 Drs & So soon as a purchaser offers it will be sold for your Account. The Physician who attended your Son in his Last Illness is a man of Eminence in his profession & has allways attended in our fathers family. His Charge was 12 Dollars which you will See by the annexed account is paid The wardrobe remains with the books & taphilim in a chest, they not being thought of Sufficient Value to Dispose of, by Sale. Your sons body was interred in the Jewish Buriel Ground belonging to the Hebrew Congregation of this City.

We have just received a Letter from our Uncle Barnard Gratz, he informs that, he will write to you in a few days to him therefore we refer you for further particulars. With every wish for your health & happiness & that of every branch of your Sons Connections in Silesen we remain your affectionate Kinsmen &c

261. JONAS HIRSCHBLUCH TO
THE GRATZ'S, 1800¹⁷

*Langendorff near Tost, Upper Silesia,
May 27th, 1800*

To my esteemed Brothers-in-law, Bernard and Michel Grätz, and sons Simon and Heimann, with residence in Philadelphia.

I received your letter of Sept. 15, 1799 only on the 22nd of this month of May, with great pleasure about the well-being of all which I wish to continue until the last years of our human existence. Also the included bill of exchange, dated August 14, 1799 for 600 Marck banco or 200 Thaler in addition to the account of the receipts and disbursements of the land

<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Disbursements</i>	
remaining cash	150 Dollars	Debts paid and	
ditto. . . .	658	sent to me in 2	
interest on the last	90	installments	713 Dollars
summa	898	dito debts paid	43
		last remittance of	
		Aug. 14, 1799 for	
		200 Dollars after	
		subtracting	50 Dollars
		to hand over re-	
		mains in my	
		hands	150
remains with me		disbursement	906 Dollars
still	8		
Receipts: 906			

Hereby I beg the esteemed brothers-in-law and sons who have applied themselves with greatest effort and strength for the best advantage of myself and my family that I may receive in one sum the two installments which are already due this month of May, so that I can provide dowry for my unmarried children while I am still alive. With what remains I and my wife shall be able to live poorly

for the rest of my life. I hope that you will not give further time to the buyer of said land, as it would derange my plans with respect to my family. For this reason I expect to receive the whole amount of both due installments at once, soon. I flatter myself that, in your love and honesty you will try to accelerate matters and also that you will try to sell according to your letter the present given by Mr. Aaron Levi to my son for my advantage and will send me the equivalent along, too. Concerning the box with the belongings of my late son I say, full of pain, that it will be most agreeable to me to have a memento of his belongings before my eyes; the value, however, is possibly less again than the transport would cost. It is the greatest consolation for me that his burial was conducted with honor. God give him eternal peace. Once more I greet kissing my esteemed Messrs. Grätz, Bernard and Michel Grätz and wish from the bottom of my heart that they may live to an advanced age and know that the whole family has reached the most happy stage where it is to be hoped that children follow the example of their parents, that their business prospers is already proof enough of their honesty. My family recommends itself to you and your kind friendship and all of them wish to receive letters from you very soon.¹⁸

At the end I pray once more for the fulfillment of my letter by first mail, addressed as has been done until now, and remain to my end your loving brother-in-law

Jonas Hirschl Bluch¹⁹

CXLI

Becoming an American Citizen, 1803

Aaron Levy, Jr.,²⁰ came over to the United States in 1795. He was an emigrant from Amsterdam, Holland. In 1803, when he had met the time requirements for naturalization, he appeared before the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. He renounced all allegiance to Holland and its ruler and was admitted to American citizenship. His carefully-preserved certificate of naturalization, which is printed below, was wholly handwritten by the Clerk of the Court, although, at this time, there were printed forms used by some of the courts that handled naturalization proceedings. The various attestations contained in the certificate conform to the requirements of the law for becoming an American citizen as it then stood.

262. CERTIFICATE OF NATURALIZATION, 1803²¹

Be it remembered that at a Court of Common Pleas held at Philadelphia in and for the County of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the United States of America on Monday the twenty first day of November in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and three Aaron Levy junior a Native of the City of Amsterdam exhibited a Petition, praying to be admitted to become a Citizen of the United States, and having on his solemn Oath declared, and also made full proof thereof by other testimony, in the Said Court that he was residing within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the said United States, between the twenty ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Ninety five and the eighteenth day of June in the year One thousand seven hundred & Ninety eight and that he has resided within the Said United States more than seven years & within the State of Pennsylvania six years last past and it appearing to the

satisfaction of the said Court that during the said period the said Aaron Levy jun has behaved as a man of good Moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same, and the said Aaron Levy jun having then and there declared on his solemn Oath aforesaid, that he would support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounced and abjured all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign Prince, Potentate State and Sovereignty whatever, and particularly to the Republic of Holland of whom he was before a Citizen

The said Court thereupon admitted the said Aaron Levy jun to become a Citizen of the United States, and Ordered all the said proceedings to b[e] [re]corded by the Prothonotary of the said Court, which was made accordingly

In Witness whereof I have hereunto [se]t my hand and affixed the Seal of the [said] Court at Philadelphia the [t]wenty first day of November in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and three

Chas Biddle ²²

CXLII

Excitement and Danger, *circa* 1800

The exciting story told in the narrative below shows why ruggedness of body and strength of character were more important qualities of the early immigrants than a cultured and scholarly mind. Aaron Soria²³ migrated first from France to Santo Domingo, where he engaged in coffee and sugar planting. These activities were interrupted by the insurrection of the Negro slaves on that island. Soria was captured and would have been executed but for the aid of a Negro General, who repaid Soria's earlier kindness to him by helping Soria to escape. Unable longer to remain in Santo Domingo, Soria managed to make his way to the United States, where his wife had already come with one child.²⁴ Soria became an American citizen, and this memoir was later written by his son.²⁵ There were other Jewish refugees from the Santo Domingo revolt. Many of them came to New York. The estates that they had gained in Santo Domingo were, of course, lost, and until they were able to make a fresh start in life, they became charges on the none-too-rich American Jewish community.

263. HOW AARON SORIA CAME TO AMERICA, *circa* 1800²⁶

My father, Aaron Soria, a naturalised citizen of the United States of America, arrived in the city of New York about the year [1800?] after the St. Domingo Revolution. He was born in the city of Bordeaux, France, on the 22d day of February, 1762, and died in the city of New York on the 12th day of February, 1852, aged nearly 90 years. His original family name was "De Soria," natives of Spain. During the Spanish revolution, the nobility were hunted and persecuted, therefore the family left out the "De" and called themselves simply "Soria." My mother, whose maiden name was Rachel Mendez Hega was also born in Bordeaux, France, on the 25th day

of December, 1781. She died in April 1844 in the city of New York, aged 63 years.

They were married in Bordeaux, had two children born there, a daughter named Judith and a son named David. They emigrated to St. Domingo, taking their daughter with them and left their son with their relatives. My father joined his brother in St. Domingo who was a West Indian planter and they prosperously cultivated coffee, Sugar, &c., the products of that Island. My mother gave birth to another son at St. Domingo who was never named, owing to there being no opportunity of doing so. My father's and uncle's store, or depot for the Sale of their produce was in the city of St. Domingo Situated in the public Square; their plantation was several miles out of town. One day a certain negro Slave named Pierre, whose master had given him permission to work out, requested permission to place his table for the Sale of Beer and Eatables on the side walk in front of his premises; my father consented on condition that his occupation would not prove a nuisance. One day a gang of Sailors stopped at this negroe's stand and partook of his Beer and eatables. After having eaten and drank they Commenced a quarrel with him. My father standing in his Store-door observed this and took the part of the negroe, compelling the men to pay for all they had partaken. Pierre was very thankful to my father for the good action he had done him.

Shortly after this the Revolution broke out in St. Domingo. My father remained on his plantation some distance from the City, until it was no longer prudent to remain there; they all left for the interior and were finally obliged to take refuge for their protection, Some 60 white persons, inside of a fort. They were attacked by negroe-forces and defended themselves the best way they could. Among the inmates of the fort was a friend of my father's who had received a wound in his left arm, which he carried in a sling. Being disabled he frequently used to play with their young babe, a child about 8 or 10 months old. Finally their provisions became short and the negroes being reinforced, those that were able resolved to make their escape the best way they could. They accordingly evacuated the fort one moonlight-night, taking different directions. The negroes soon found it out and pursued them. My father, mother and their two children hurried on as fast as they could run; coming

to a stream of water they had to ford it. They could plainly hear the report of their enemies' guns at a short distance from them. They were compelled to lay their babe on the ground in order to safely cross the Stream, my father carrying his eldest child in his arms and leading my mother, the water being up to their necks. He intended to recross the Stream to recover their babe, but the negroes coming so suddenly on them, discharging their guns, he had no time to return, consequently they were compelled to abandon their babe and make their escape as fast as they could. They succeeded in reaching a small Sea board town from whence they got on board a small craft, which conveyed them back to St. Domingo City. The negroes massacred the whites whenever an opportunity afforded; every white citizen therefore was compelled to take up arms in defence of the city. The blacks, who greatly outnumbered the white male population, had full possession of the mountains and all their passes, they were well armed and drilled and made frequent attacks by night on the city. My father placed his wife and child at a friends' house in the city for protection. He was ordered to the arsenal there to be equipped and was placed on guard to patrol the city. One very dark night he was hailed by a band which he mistook for his own comrades, but which proved to be negroes; he was taken prisoner and conveyed to their guardhouse in the mountains; all along the route the negroes abused him and called him a "white monkey." This was the common insult they applied to white citizens, telling him that by tomorrows' light he would no longer know the taste of bread, meaning, they would kill him. They confined him in their guardhouse. I need not here describe the fear that took possession of my dear father for the protection of his wife and child as well as for his own life. About midnight the door of his prison was suddenly opened by a tall well made negro man dressed in full regimentals, with chapeau, plume, sword and epaulettes. This officer was the negro general Commander of the place who, on seeing his prisoner, walked up to him and exclaimed, "Why citizen Soria, how came you here? do you know me?" at the same time extending his hand. My father who was much taken by surprise, answered him saying, "General, your face is familiar to me, but I can not recall your name." "Do you not remember *Pierre!* the man you gave permission to place his stand in front of your

warehouse in the city, and whom you protected from the insults of a party of Sailors? *I am the man* and I have never forgotten your kindness, I will serve you if I can, but never divulge that *I* liberated you, do not compromise me, when I next open your prison door and *raise my chapeau*, make your escape, fly down the mountains for your life." He accordingly placed his guards in such positions to enable his prisoner to escape which he lost no time in doing.

My Dear father used frequently to recur to this part of his life, telling his children never to omit doing a good action, whenever it was in their power, for, said he, I owe the saving of my life to the trifling favor I have done to this poor slave when in trouble. On reaching the city again my father was retaken by his own people, and after recounting that he had been taken prisoner and made his escape, they conducted him to the arsenal and replaced him on guard. He, as soon as possible, went in search of his wife and child, whom he found safe at his friends' house; he then occupied himself as much as possible in trying to leave the Island, and succeeded in securing a passage on board a Schooner bound for New York. When about ready to sail, a guard of white Soldiers came on board and pulled him from his hiding place, as no white citizen was allowed to leave the Island. They forced the female passenger to leave, but placed him under guard. This vessel was taken by an English cruiser, for England was then at war with France, and carried into New Providence. From thence my mother obtained passage to Charleston, S.C., where they were hospitably received and cared for by those warmhearted and charitable citizens of that city. My father ultimately succeeded in getting away from St. Domingo. They had to hide him away among the cargo of coffee. He reached New York City and then occupied himself in search of his wife and child. Learning they were in Charleston, S.C. he went there and found they had just departed for St. Domingo. By this time the insurrection had been quelled. Three succeeding trips across the Atlantic Ocean did they make in search of each other before meeting. My father on his arrival at St. Domingo after quiet had been restored, went in search of his lost child. He fell in with his wounded friend, who informed him, that he saw the babe lying quietly on the ground near the edge of the stream uninjured, sucking his thumb. He examined and recognised the child's features by the

light of the moon, saying to himself, "they have all been massacred but this dear babe; I will take it up in my arm, if it remains quiet; but should it cry, it may betray me and the negroes will find me out, I will then have to abandon it." Fortunately the child remained quiet. He conveyed it to a neighboring plantation whose only occupant was then an old negroe woman, into whose care he left the child, telling her to take good care of it, informing her of its parents' name &c., promising her a good reward for her trouble. My father succeeded in finding this woman, who informed him, that she had forgotten the child's name, but they called him "Petit Blanc," "Little White One," as he was the only white child then on the Island, that he took sick from the itch, the then prevailing disease among the blacks and died. She said they buried the child but the father could not see the burial certificate. My dear mother was always of opinion that her child was living but ignorant of his name &ca.

CXLIII

Immigrant Adjustment and Success, 1798-1823

Each of the four Jewish immigrants to America, from whose wills extracts are given below, came to Charleston from a different European country. Israel Joseph²⁷ was from Mannheim in Germany. He left part of his estate, which was quite large, to the Jewish congregation in Mannheim, and part to the Synagogue and other Jewish institutions in Charleston, as well as making testamentary provisions for his wife, and other members of his family in Germany, England and the United States. Moses Jacob Buley²⁸ emigrated from Rotterdam, Holland; besides his bequests to the family, the only item in this will that is of interest is his gift of £ 25 to whichever of the two Jewish cemeteries in Charleston he should be interred in—that of Congregation Beth Elohim,²⁹ or the “other” cemetery “owned” by Henry Moses and Samuel Hyams.³⁰ Probably Abraham Cohen³¹ came from Prussian Poland, since the residuary legatees named in his will were the family of Jacob Schrimskie in Posen. Cohen was a merchant, and the evidence of the will is that he was fairly successful. Samuel Simons,³² the fourth of these immigrants, migrated from London. He was quite successful and left a considerable estate. Much was bequeathed to his family in England, and a bequest was made to the Duke’s Place Synagogue in London and to other English Jewish charitable institutions. Simons was not married when he made this will, nor had he any children of record. A large bequest to his housekeeper, “a free woman of colour,” may be taken as an indication of his gratitude for services rendered.

264. WILL OF ISRAEL JOSEPH, 1798³³

In the Name of God Amen, I, Israel Joseph of the City of Charleston and State aforesaid, being of sound and perfect mind and memory, but considering the uncertainty of this transitory life, do make, publish, pronounce and declare this to be my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. . . . And as to such worldly effects as the Almighty God of his infinite goodness has been pleased to bless me with, I will and desire the same to be disposed of in manner and form following viz. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved brother Judah Joseph (now residing in London in the Kingdom of Great Britain) the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, in case he should be living at the time of my death, if not living, the said legacy shall revert to my Estate. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved brother Moses Joseph (now residing in Manhiem [sic] in the Electorate of the Duke Palatine of Germany) the sum of twenty pounds sterling in case he should be living at the time of my death, if otherwise, the same shall become vested in the principal Hebrew Congregation of Manhiem aforesaid (of which my Father was a Member) to be put out at interest, and the said interest money only to be appropriated for the benefit and use of the Synagogue of the said Congregation in Manhiem in such manner as the elders or Vestry thereof shall think proper. . . . Item I give and bequeath unto my Nephew Daniel Hart³⁴ one hundred pounds sterling, also a gold mourning ring, provided he shall attend Synagogue during the usual time; and to say the Kaddish for me, as is customary to be said in Synagogue for the memory of deceased persons, and which I have no doubt he will strictly comply with. . . . Item I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds sterling to be vested in the incorporated Hebrew Congregation of Beth Elohim "or house of God" in the City of Charleston aforesaid, for the express and sole purpose of placing the same out at interest, which interest shall go annually into the Charity funds of the said Congregation, and be appropriated in such manner as the Adjunta or Vestry for the time being shall from time to time direct or approve of. Item I give and bequeath unto the Hebra Gamilut Hasadam,³⁵ or the Benevolent Society established under the Au-

thority and Jurisdiction of Beth Elohim or House of God aforesaid the sum of ten pounds sterling, to be appropriated in such manner as the Members of the said Society shall think most proper for the benefit of the said institution. Item I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds sterling in trust to the Commissioners of the Orphan House of Charleston ³⁶ for the time being, the same to be put out at interest and the interest so accruing to be by them applied in such manner as they shall from time to time think proper for the benefit of that institution. . . . And from and immediately after the decease of my beloved Wife Mariam, I will and desire that the whole of my Estate then remaining, both real and personal and of whatever kind or nature soever, to be disposed of as follows, vizt If my nephew Daniel Hart should then have a Son living named Israel Joseph, I give and bequeath unto such Son the Sum of two hundred pounds sterling, if he should not then have such a Son living, in that case my Will and desire is that this legacy shall revert again as part of my Estate to be hereafter disposed of. I give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds sterling to be remitted to Manhiem in the Electorate of the Duke of Palatine on the Rhine, it being the place of my Nativity, which said Sum of five hundred pounds sterling shall become vested in the Elders or Vestry of Principal Jewish Congregation of Manhiem aforesaid, of which my Father (of Honored memory) was a Member, for the use and benefit of the said Principal Jewish Congregation of Manhiem aforesaid, for the express purpose of placing the said sum of five hundred pounds out at interest; and to appropriate the said interest as the said Elders or Vestry of the said Congregation of Manhiem shall from time to time think fit or approve of. . . . And lastly I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint my aforesaid Nephew Daniel Hart and my friend Lyon Levy ³⁷ (both of the City of Charleston aforesaid) Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking, declaring null and void all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eighteenth day of January in the Year one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight.

Israel Joseph (L.S.)

265. WILL OF MOSES J. BULEY, 1802 ³⁸

The Last Will & Testament of Moses Jacob Buley, who was the Son of Jacob Nathans and Catharine Nathans, she was the Daughter of Nathan Daniels all of these My relations were born in the City of Rotterdam in Holland, I give and bequeath Unto the Jewish Synagogue Called, Bethlehem [Beth Elohim] (of Charleston) the Sum of Twenty five Pounds Sterling Provided I should die in or near Charleston so as to be buried in the Burial Ground of the said Congregation Provided the Members of said Congregation shall so chuse to Enter me in said ground, But upon their refusal so to do, I leave the same sum above Mentioned in Lieu of being Paid to the aforesaid Congregation, to be Paid to the Owners of the other Jewish Burial Ground (owned by Henry Moses ³⁹ & Saml. Hyams ⁴⁰ &c) Provided I should be so Enterd in the same after Paying all my Just Debts, I give and bequeath Unto my Mother if living, but if she is dead I give and bequeath Unto my Brothers and Sisters an equal Share of my Whole Estate of what ever Nature or kind I may die Possessed off and in Case of any of my Brothers and Sisters being now dead or should hereafter die before the division of this my estate, in that case I give to their Children the same amount as would have gone to one Brother or Sister to be subdivided equally amongst them, so that every Brother or Sister with their own family May receive but one share of My Estate, the Executors which I hereby appoint to settle My said Estate are Saml. Maverick ⁴¹ in Witness hereof I hereunto set my hand & Seal in Charleston this 15th day of March 1802

Jacob Buley(LS)

266. WILL OF ABRAHAM COHEN, 1809 ⁴²

In the Name of God Amen, I Abraham Cohen of Edisto Island, In the State aforesaid Merchant, being sick and weak in body, but of sound & Perfect understanding (thanks be to God therefor) do make and declare this my last Will & Testament; namely As I have always Possessed the Jewish faith, and do die in the Principles of Judaism, I commend my body to be buried in the Usual religious form, and My soul to God my Creator. Secondly I Give and bequeath Unto

my dearly beloved and loving Wife Rachel Cohen, one half of my Proportion that I shall be entitled to, in the Concern of Isaac C. Moses ⁴³ & Co. and the other half of my Proportion in said Firm Unto my dear Child Madison Cohen. Share & Share alike, to be equally apprised & divided between My said Wife & Son. It is my earnest desire and request that should My said Wife Rachel Cohen die, before she has Contracted any Marriage, her share in ye said Proportion to devolve upon my said Son Madison, to his use & behoof And should My said Son Madison die before the age of Twenty One Years or day of Marriage, his share in the said Proportion, to devolve upon my Relation in Poland in Posna (a City or Parish) to the family of Jacob Schrimskie to his use and behoof. I request of my Executors, herein after Named & Mentioned that all my Wearing apparel, Watch, horses and Chair be sold at Public Auction; the Proceeds thereof to be appropriated to the Use and behoof of my said Son Madison; and should he die before the Age of Twenty one or day of Marriage to devolve upon the said family of Jacob Schrimskie in Posna Poland. The rest of My Furniture both Kitchen & house I give and bequeath to my said Wife Rachel to her Use and Behoof as aforesaid. It is my request that my Tickets in the New York Lottery, or whatsoever other Lottery I may have a ticket or Tickets in should any of them become Prizes their Proceeds shall be applied to the Use, Education and behoof of My said Son Madison, as aforesaid. I do hereby appoint Isaac Harby ⁴⁴ and William Wood ⁴⁵ as the Executors of this my last Will and Testament. Signed & sealed this twenty seventh day of October in the Year of the Christian Eree 1809 of the Jewish Eree 5558 and in the thirty fourth Year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States of America.

A. Cohen (LS)

267. WILL OF SAMUEL SIMONS, 1823 ⁴⁶

The State of South Carolina. In the Name of God Amen I Samuel Simons of the City of Charleston and State aforesaid Merchant being at this time in feeble bodily health but of a Sound and disposing mind memory and understanding blessed be God for the Same and Considering the uncertainty of this Life and the Certainty of death do hereby make & publish this my Last Will and Testa-

ment revoking all other Wills by me at any time heretofore made. . . . I give devise and bequeath unto Lazarus Harris my first Cousin, Watch maker in London the Sum of four hundred Dollars and I also give and bequeath to the children of the Said Lazarus Harris each of them three hundred Dollars that is to Say to the females on the days of their respective Marriages and to the males on their respectively attaining the age of twenty one years. Item I give devise and bequeath to Lucky Benjamin the Wife of Woolf Benjamin of the City of London being my first cousin the Sum of Four hundred Dollars for her Sole and Seperate use benefit and behoof. I also give and bequeath and devise to her children the Sum of Three hundred Dollars each that is to Say to the females on the days of their respective Marriages and to the Males upon their respectively attaining the age of Twenty one years. Item I give devise and bequeath unto Deborah Marks daughter of Sarah Marks my Second Cousin the Sum of three hundred dollars. Item I give devise and bequeath unto Amelia Marks the daughter of Sarah Marks my Second Cousin the Sum of three hundred Dollars, all which Said different Sums of Money are to be sent to the Elders of the dukes place Synagogue⁴⁷ in London and to be given by the elders of the Said Synagogue according to my bequests herein Contained and in Case of the death of any of the children of Lazarus Harris or Lucky Benjamin then their respective Survivors to Share equally alike. Item I give devise and bequeath unto the Dukes place Synagogue in London the Sum of Six hundred dollars for the purpose of having my Fathers name Isaac Simons deceased my brother Sampson Simons⁴⁸ deceased and my brother Moses Simons⁴⁹ deceased to have their Names placed on the Tablet of the Synagogue in the Same Manner as has been done to my brother Montague Simons⁵⁰ of Charleston and Saul Simons⁵¹ of Savannah being formerly Congregators of the Same, the Said money to be put out at interest, and that interest to be laid out in the purchase of Coals to be given and distributed among the poor of the Said Dukes place Congregation. Item I give and bequeath unto the Hebrew Hospital Called in the Hebrew Language Nory Sadick⁵² being established by the Gold Smiths & other the Sum of Fifteen Hundred dollars the Said Nory Sadick being at Mile end, this bequest being for the purpose of having my deceased Father's name Isaac Simons my de-

ceased brother Sampson Simons my deceased Brother Montague Simons my deceased Brother Said Saul Simons and my deceased Brother Moses Simons, names put on the Tablet of the Said Institution according to Custom, the money thus bequeathed to be put at interest and the Said interest money to be applied to the purchasing and distribution of Cloths among the poor of the Said Institution the Said distribution to be made every Six months that is to Say at the feast of the passover and the New Year of the Hebrews. Item I give devise and bequeath for the benefit of the Institution Called the Orphan House in the City of Charleston the Sum of fifty Dollars. Item I give devise and bequeath to my House Keeper Maria Chapman a free woman of Colour the Sum of fourteen hundred Dollars two Negroes named Pompey and Peggy with issue and increase of the females and also two Bedsteads bedding and Six chairs, and as to the rest & residue my Estate and property both real and personal, I give devise and bequeath the Same to the Said Lazarus Harris and the Said Lucky Benjamin to them and their heirs and assigns forever as Tenants in Common & not as joint Tenants. And Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute & appoint my friends Moses C. Levy⁵³ and Jacob C Levy⁵⁴ Executors of this my Will In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and affixed my Seal this Twenty Eighth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and twenty three and in the forty Eighth year of American Independence Samuel Simons (LS)

CXLIV

White Labor Servitude, 1819-1820

Often the desire to emigrate to America was strongest precisely among those who lacked the means to pay their fare. But this was no bar to the enterprising. Some were able to arrange for indentured service. For others, there were ships that plied between Europe and America whose masters brought penniless immigrants to American ports. There, they were auctioned off as redemptioners, entering a kind of legally limited slavery for a term of years, in exchange for the payment of their passage and for their maintenance during the period of service.⁵⁵ Wolf bar Schemuel, who called himself Wolf Samuel, came to America in this fashion.

Wolf Samuel's letter to his family, printed below, is probably fairly accurate in its descriptions of the voyage. His account of his service as redemptioner is, however, an attempt to gloss over a most unhappy experience. His term of service was for more than three years, not for two years, as he says. Whatever his food may have been in the beginning, its inadequacy became a source of contention between him and his master soon after. His work was much harder than he described it, and when he fell sick he was treated brutally. Indeed, perhaps the ultimate in brutality was that this letter was intercepted by his master, who was neither a Jew nor a Dutchman. Both documents below, were found, with other intercepted documents, including other complaints to the courts about the treatment Wolf Samuel was getting, among the family papers of the master, Stephen Boyd.⁵⁶

268. WOLF SAMUEL TO HIS FAMILY, 1819⁵⁷

Peach Bottom [Pa] June 27, 1819.

Dear and Unforgettable parents, brothers and sisters and cousins,
may they live!

I must write to you for the first time from America. First of all I will describe my voyage across the sea. I left Amsterdam on September 13th with 96 passengers, including 6 Jews. First of all we entered the North Sea where I was seasick for four days. I thought I was going to die. Then we had a very bad wind for a whole month and no prospect of getting to America. We hadn't much food left and the water was foul, and the passengers compelled the captain to put into the harbour in England. We dropped anchor on the first day of Succoth and went to the synagogue as soon as we arrived. The town was called Falmath [Falmouth]. We stayed there ten days. We put out to sea and again we met a great storm and we all thought that we were going down. The stores ran out a second time and the captain had to run for shore and we arrived in Cadiz in Spain, where none of us Jews were allowed in the town as our lives would not have been safe. We lay at Cadiz for 14 days. Then we left Cadiz and put out into the Atlantic Ocean and with a good wind arrived at Baltimore in 62 or 63 days, that is on February 12th after a voyage of 5 months.

And then the market was held. The Americans came and asked the captain how much they must pay for this one and that one and so on. Some had to serve three years for their passage and some four years. Then there came a Jew, a Dutchman, who had been in America seventeen years and was worth a million. He has a big plantation and 94 negroes who have to work and I have to go out into the fields every day and see what they are doing. I have fine food, as good as the master himself. I shall have to serve two years for my passage and can make from three to four hundred Guilders in that time. When I arrived he gave me twelve shirts, four pairs of trousers, two pairs of boots and shoes for the Sabbath, an overcoat and two black coats. In short I'm living just like a gentleman and can smoke the best tobacco. He doesn't live in the town of Baltimore but twelve hours away; three Jews live in the place. The plantation is four thousand acres and every month there is divine service 16 English miles away.

Now my dear parents I cannot tell you much yet as I've only been here four months. I am, God be praised, in good health. Write and tell me all the news and what has happened in the district, and tell me if you receive my letter from Amsterdam. Coffee costs 8¢ cents

a pound, that is 12 kreuzers and sugar 16 kreuzers. I can already speak English passably. I go to school every day for an hour and my master pays for it. The address here is English. You must write exactly as it is here or else your letter will not arrive. I cannot pay you back yet what you gave me. But I think the time will come when I can return to Germany again; only have patience, time brings everything. My master lives in York county, Pennsylvania, 24 hours from Philadelphia. My master has 18 horses and 200 cattle, in short I couldn't wish to have a better time in my life than I am having. Now farewell and keep well until we see each other again.

Wolf bar Schemuel.

269. WOLF SAMUEL'S COMPLAINT, 1820⁵⁸

On the 10th of March 1819 Stefan Boid came to the Ship Frau Elizabeth, and there were no more than 14 men on the brig; he came with a Dutchman. We soon made a bargain; he paid for my passage, that amounted to 76 Dollars or 190 Guilder; for this I was to serve him for three years and two months; and when I was free, he was to pay me 40 Dollars or 100 Guilder; that's the way my contract read. I remained with Stephen's father, because my master was not married. . . .

After this my master bought a place in Maryland Haffert [Harford] County on the Susquehanna River, near Medol's Island, in order to build a fishery. I had to work in the water, therefore, with three Niggers, for a whole month. True, my master worked, too, when he felt like it. I don't want to make anything of this; a servant must work at whatever his master wants. However, I got an ague, or the cold fever. The working in the water caused it. 27 days working in the water, and 2 days after this, the ague. My master said to me "You can go to the house." I had to go 10 miles to the house. I tried to do it, and it took me the whole day. I came to the house, my old master and mistress gave me black looks, but I, poor fellow, couldn't help it. The next day I was very sick and for 14 days, all day I lay freezing and shivering, and I was very weak. . . .

My master also had the ague, the same as me. And you should have seen what the old lady, I mean his mother, gave him to eat every day, she baked and she cooked, whatever he wanted. I don't

want to make anything of this; she's his mother; but she should've realized that I'm as good a man as her son, and shouldn't have made any difference between us. I had as on the other days the ague and an unbearable headache. My old master, namely Esa Boyd, said to me, "that's nothing, you can work a little, chop wood, feed the stock." What should a poor fellow like me do; if I said I can't do it, that would have started things, so I thought, I'll do it, in God's name. I cried a lot when I was alone. My master had the same sickness, and he didn't stir out of the house.

Now we come to a terrible quarrel. A mile from my house lived a smith by the name of Andre Weille. On the 9th of November 1819 he came to my master and asked whether my master would let me slaughter a cow for him, since I knew a little bit about this kind of work, my father being a butcher. My master gave permission, I went to his house, we slaughtered the cow and finished everything up properly. His wife gave me a piece of meat for my master and gave me a handkerchief to carry the meat home in. She said, "Bring the handkerchief back to me on Sunday." It was Thursday when I did the slaughtering. So on Sunday the 12th I took back the handkerchief. I got back home a quarter hour before night. You should've heard the cursing and swearing of my old master, its frightful. The first was "You run around the neighborhood and talk about my household; I'll break you"; then he swore, "By heaven, I'll have you up before the judge in York"; I said, "I wish you would take me there"; he said "You will go before the judge, God damn your blood"; when he heard that I wanted to go to Court, he said: "Shut up! or I'll thrash you, and I'm the right man to do it". . . . The cursing was horrible for the listeners; I had two witnesses to this story, a white man 21 years old and a 16 year old Nigger. . . .

Now I see I can't help it; I've got to go to the honorable judge in York and lay a complaint against my old master and my young master. I have a lot to tell if God gives me the luck to get to York. The judge won't hold anything against me because I haven't written this nice; I've written it in haste and need.

Wolf, Samuel, Servant of Esa Boyd,
York County, Peachbottom Township

February 27th, 1820

CXLV

Advice to a Greenhorn, 1832

The writer of this letter had been in the United States for some time when his nephew, August Mailert,⁵⁹ arrived from Germany. The advice of a practical nature that is given is very sound, including the final suggestion that the only way for an immigrant to get along in the United States is to forget a lot and to learn a lot.

270. S. MEYLERT⁶⁰ TO AUGUST MAILERT, 1832⁶¹

Carbondale [Pa.] Nov 8th 1832

[To August Mailert]

Dear Sir:

Business has prevented me from answering your communication of October 29th earlier.

I am sorry that I lack an opportunity to help you. The Work here is of a kind you do not understand since I do not believe that you ever worked in a *coal mine*. In America bookbinders are useful only in large cities; in the country they are superfluous. I was glad that you think other work would do for you, too. I believe that you will do better where there are Germans; here there is only one other individual besides myself who speaks German.—I expect to leave this place by *January* 1st, and it is possible that I shall go to Philadelphia.

Farewell, and I hope and wish that you will do well in America. You have to unlearn much and learn much; this is the only way for a German to make headway in America. I remain, yours, sincerely
S. Meylert

CXLVI

Causes of Emigration, 1837-1840

In the 1830s the rate of emigration from Germany to the United States rose sharply. The extracts from German-Jewish journals of the time that are translated below suggest some of the reasons for this wave of migration. The chief emphasis is on the legal and economic disabilities. The restrictions that some German states placed on the marriages of Jews led young people to leave for America in order to establish family life; the writer of this item points out that non-Jews emigrate in family units, while Jews go as single individuals. Other causes listed are the desire to avoid conscription, the lack of economic opportunities in Germany, and the prospect for gaining economic security in the United States. The sharpest observation in these items is that emigration acts as a catalyst to further emigration by taking away support from going religious institutions, forcing their closing. These statements cannot be fully verified, since statistics for emigration from Germany during this period were not broken down by religious affiliation. For whatever it is worth, a writer in a slightly later period claimed that of every 20 Germans migrating to the United States, 19 were Jews.

271. FROM BAVARIA, 1837⁶²

They are emigrating, indeed. We have young men who have completed their apprenticeship and journeymen's years of travel just as precisely as any one of another faith, who can legally prove possession of no inconsiderable fortune, who meet all the requirements that may be made of them, and yet cannot obtain letters of protection and domicile on account of their registration number. What should such people do, who have sacrificed half their fortune in legal proceedings in order to obtain their object? . . .

272. EMIGRATION AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, 1839⁶³

Wuerzburg, March 10 (Private communication). It was possible to foresee that emigration would not be inconsiderable this year; but unfortunately it was far greater than had been surmised! I say unfortunately because in our condition this will work perceptible disadvantages. Many a small community may easily be compelled to give up public worship and its school, because it may be unable to pay the teachers and religious functionaries, unless certain provisions are made by the state. From certain places, in which there are 30-40 Jewish families, 15-20 persons or more are leaving, and, at that, mostly young and hard-working people. At Riedenbourg, a village in the province of Brueckenau, an old man of eighty-five had decided to migrate to America.

273. EFFECT OF LEGAL RESTRICTIONS, 1839⁶⁴

Wuerzburg, April 12 (Private Communication) . . . An interesting observation strikes the observer in looking over the names of those listed for emigration. When comparing the gentile with the Jewish emigrants one finds that the former have more family groups than single persons, the latter by far more single persons than families. From this one might draw a conclusion as to the motives for emigration. The Jewish emigration appears to be due less to greed for gain than to the consciousness of being unable in any other way to achieve independence or to found a family.

274. REASONS FOR EMIGRATION, 1839⁶⁵

Munich, Sept. 3. The *Leipziger Zeitung* contains the following article sent from here concerning the recent emigration of Israelites from Bavaria. . . .

1. "Conscription remains a thorn in the side of the Israelites. Who can blame a father if he sells out and leaves with his family? The parents are then joined by hundreds of engaged couples, candidates for degrees and physicians, commercial clerks, journeymen and

every sort of people eager to work. Naturally, there is never any talk about purchases in the North American woods, of agriculture, landed estates, etc. One becomes a merchant. i.e., carries on trade in the ever-roaming wagons and steamboats, until one gets a house and established store, or one carries on one, two, three trades, according to what he has derived from others, in addition to what he has, in passing, learned here. A German is gladly accepted as a workingman in America; the German Jew is preferred to any other. Thus hopelessness at home, a secure future overseas, no pressure or persecution of one or another sort lead the Bavarian Israelite to take up the wanderer's staff."

275. EMIGRATION FEVER, 1840⁶⁶

From Swabia, February, 1840. . . . The emigration-fever has steadily increased among the Israelites of our district and seems about to reach its high point. In nearly every community there are numerous individuals who are preparing to leave the fatherland early next year and to seek their fortune on the other side of the ocean. This is particularly the case in *Ichenhausen*, the largest Israelitic community in Swabia with approximately 200 families. If I am correctly informed, there are in this place alone 60 persons contemplating the voyage. About 20 more wish to join them from *Osterburg* (a small and poor congregation of barely 25 families belonging to the Altenstadt rabbinate).

Emigration is, of course, nothing new among us, although, to be sure, it never was strong in general. For a long time we have been used to the fact that youngsters, who had gone forth into the world, with the wanderer's staff in hand, finally settled in various foreign lands because they had no prospect of establishing themselves in their birthplace (as, apart from the seven corporate restrictions, the trades become so easily overcrowded in hamlets and villages). Also since time immemorial, indigent girls (at times annually) have gone in whole groups to Italy (attracted by better wages), where they entered domestic service in Jewish communities and many stayed there.

CXLVII

Inquiries from Friends Abroad,

1833-1834

Despite the many efforts that were made, for interested or disinterested motives of land speculation, Christian missionary zeal, or simple regard for the welfare of fellow-Jews abroad, to encourage Jewish migration to America, the best publicity agents that the United States has had have been contented immigrants. Their letters to their old homes, to relations and friends, stirred up the urge to cross the Atlantic as no advertisement or propaganda ever could.

Often, as in the letters printed below, the request for information came first from Europe. In the first letter the inquiry was quite casual; the writer had not really begun to think of leaving Germany, but he was dissatisfied with conditions there and his correspondent's answer to the question about schooling in America could easily have turned this teacher's thoughts toward migration. The inquiry in the second of these letters is very pointed. Its writer has thought seriously of emigrating. He asked specific questions to guide his actions and to know what he can expect to find in the United States.

276. J. E. ZINN⁶⁷ TO
AUGUST MAILERT,⁶⁸ 1833⁶⁹

Cassel, Nov. 12th 1833

Dear August.

Your letter of Aug. 13th was a very great pleasure to me because I learned from it that you are quite well. With me many a thing has changed, dear Mailert, I stand pretty much alone in the world for I lost my dear mother on October 19th who was still so much pleased with your last letter and wished and wanted you to have everything good. Now I sit alone with my sister and my brother who greet

you cordially. When shall I see you again in our midst? Now only do I truly feel the benefit of having friends in full measure. My situation remains almost the same as it was last year.

Please write me a really long letter especially about the school system there; till now there is as yet no hope for improvement here.

Dear August, fare very well; never forget me; I surely will not forget you; very many times already here I yearned for your faithful heart, but here on earth many a hope has already gone to its grave and the best thing is to practice patience. But let us not despair, and let us hope at some time to be able to spend very happy days with each other. My pupils, the small Langen (?) greet you, too.

I am your eternally faithful friend,

Johannes Ernst Zinn

277. G. CREUTZINGER⁷⁰ TO
AUGUST MAILERT, 1834⁷¹

Esteemed Mr. Mailert!

Although I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally I still take the liberty, especially encouraged to do so by your brother,⁷² of bothering you with some questions for the kind answering of which I should be very much obliged to you. I give private piano lessons here and am probably known to you as music and singing teacher at the Israelitic school here. More than 3 years ago I was about to travel to America with two other acquaintances; however, the later withdrawal of these two acquaintances as well as the separation from two dear boys, at present 6 and 7 years old, made me vacillate in my decision at the time. Since then, however, the wish has only grown stronger in me to leave my children behind in the land of liberty when I shall die, for in unhappy Europe one can only expect a sad future. Above all I would most prefer to find a place as music teacher there, therefore I wish to know:

1. Is there an oversupply of teachers, or are they still in demand?
2. What is the condition of music; is it treated merely as a matter of entertainment or as an art?
3. How is teaching generally paid?
4. How much does one need on the average for room and board per month if one lives as simply as possible?

5. Is a German, if he is decent and conducts himself well, easily accepted as a teacher by the Americans?

6. How much is clothing in comparison to here?

7. Is it not possible to live and dwell more cheaply in the country with a family of two children than in a big city, until I get better acquainted with the English language?

8. Should music teaching not materialize, can one not get ahead in commerce or in some other way?

I ask you very sincerely to communicate the answers to these questions to me as well as and in addition to whatever you may find worthy of the attention of a German immigrating there.

Should you have an opportunity to talk to Mr. Vierck⁷³ from Ehlen near Cassel who is said to teach piano in Philadelphia: please remember me to him and ask his opinion about my intention.

Postscriptum.

Could one get some place by founding a chemical vinegar brewery? How much money is needed to buy real estate enough to secure a comfortable or rather adequate income for a family in the interior of the country?

The friendly relationship I have with your brother here will certainly contribute much to your not misjudging my request—which must be bothersome to you and to your doing what I asked you as well as you are able to. Hoping that I shall be able to thank you in person for satisfying my demands, I am yours most devotedly

G. Creutzinger
Music teacher
Hessen-Cassel

Cassel

Septbr. 30th 1834

CXLVIII

A Report from America, 1835

Local Jewish newspapers in various parts of Germany often printed excerpts from letters sent home by former residents who had migrated to America. These letters, with their homely reference to the ease with which jobs were to be had and the large salaries that were paid, must have been extremely influential in leading others, caught in the economic squeeze in Germany, to consider the serious step of going to a new land. Occasional editorial notes must have helped, too, as when this story appeared under the caption "North America" in *Das Füllhorn*, published at Bamberg, in 1836:

"A Jewish journeyman-baker from Bavaria who was ready and willing to work, who travelled through Germany and the neighboring countries for 10 years and obtained work only rarely, so that he could not even earn his bread in this way, migrated to North America last summer. Now, he has written home to his parents that he found a place as a journeyman in the house of a baker at Petersburg immediately after his arrival and that he receives 40 fl. wages a month in addition to free board, laundry and room. Blessed land of freedom and prosperity!"⁷⁴

The account below covers most of the points in which European Jews would have been interested: the ease of getting work and its relatively good pay; the possibility of Jewish religious life; and the absence of civic differences in the treatment of Jews and non-Jews. The advantages of some knowledge of English are stressed, and the need for hard work and thrift. Among younger people, the reading of such an account, by one of their own, could readily have led to a flood of migrants.

278. EXPERIENCES OF AN IMMIGRANT, 1835⁷⁵

On August 18, 1835 an Israelitic journeyman-tailor of Bavarian origin who migrated 10 years ago to England and at present re-

sides in New York wrote his relatives living in Bamberg, among others:

"I presume you know through my last letter from England how I lived in England and how I felt. Now, about two years ago my lucky star directed me, like many another young man, to go West and I travelled with a friend from London to New York. Arriving here safely after a long and difficult journey, I got a job in a store where I remained 55 months, and saved a nice sum of money; during this time I met an English girl outstanding in every respect who to my good fortune consented to marry me. We live an extremely happy and contented life and six months ago were blessed with a healthy, pretty little daughter. I own a well-stocked clothing store here and live quite happily among my friends and the relatives of my wife and as part of a circle of many respectable Israelites, for more than 2,000 Israelites live here, most of whom are religious observers. There are three synagogues here. One large German one,⁷⁶ which is very beautiful and has a tower with a clock, and then an extremely beautiful and richly decorated Portuguese one⁷⁷ and further a small German synagogue.⁷⁸ The Israelites living here come from various countries: Americans, Englishmen, Dutchmen, Portuguese and German. Everybody can choose freely whether or in which synagogue he wants to be enrolled. In general the Israelites here live completely free and without restrictions like all the rest of the citizens, and many immigrants still come to America from Germany and from our region, and among these to my happy surprise [I met] last week our friend, Dr. Nordheimer⁷⁹ (of Memmelsdorf) who arrived here safely from Hamburg. How conditions and prospects in America are in general I shall describe in the letter to my dear brother." This [letter] now reads as follows:

"You will have learned from my previous letter to our dear relatives what my domestic conditions are like here and what my general situation here is so that I have now only to add a general description of America. It is a little difficult though to write about this point since so much has already been written about it and America is praised in one work and blamed in another; for this reason I shall only tell the truth as I see it. When I look at America in general terms I can in truth maintain that in spite of its shortcomings it is nevertheless much better than Europe because not only is there no

difference in the civic relations between Christians and Jews and everybody can do what he wishes, but what is more everybody who is ready to exert himself only a little can easily find work and his efforts in every trade are rewarded. Thus for instance all craftsmen whose trade is not in competition with factory production are very well off and every one can live well and still lay aside a nice sum of money. Thus for example tailors, shoemakers and carpenters earn 20 fl. a week with little effort. One can live quite decently for half and thus save forty fl. a month. There will never be too many tailors and shoemakers coming here, since such are demanded in the newspaper every day. A girl that is ready to sew earns 7-10 fl. a week. Boys are accepted with pleasure in any trade whatsoever and don't have to pay the master as in Germany but get board and room and 100-120 fl. even in the first year, in the second year and in various trades even 200-250 fl. You will probably think this exaggerated but it is the purest truth. Those who come here to trade have much greater difficulties, since business is overcrowded and most of those who come here are not yet acquainted with the English language. However, if somebody has some knowledge of the English language, and is able to get a job in a store, he could easily manage through a recommendation to get into a store where he receives 70-80 fl. a month aside from board and room, which is not much yet, since a good bookkeeper ordinarily gets 150 fl. a month. Now, if somebody is thrifty and active, he can go pretty far in this country. That many a man has already been deceived in his hopes may have various reasons; this much is sure, however, that no craftsman who is ready to work will have anything to regret if he comes to America."

CXLIX

A Conflict of Desire and Duty,

1835

The letter printed below, from one who remained in Germany to his brother who emigrated to the United States, is an interesting revelation of a conflict that must have occurred often. Charles Lucius Mailert claimed to be eager to follow his brother August to America. But Charles Lucius felt keenly the responsibility that devolved upon him for taking care of his mother. His letters to his brother over a period of several years indicate the vacillations in his thought.⁸⁰ America was his dream, his promised land. Eulogies of American freedoms and opportunities are scattered, like poetical gems, through his letters. The very sensitivity, however, that led to his writing thus led also to an indecisiveness, an unwillingness to uproot his mother. The effect of hardship and possible poverty on his mother is the constant antiphonal refrain to his praise of the United States, but it may very well be that for this intellectual the real fear was that he might find the realities of America less satisfying than his dream. By the time of this letter, Charles Lucius had already begun to intersperse his German text with a few English phrases and sentences (indicated here in italics). Later, he wrote entire letters in English.

279. CHARLES L. MAILERT TO
AUGUST MAILERT, 1835⁸¹

Cassel, August 1st, 1835

Dear brother!

Only too just are the reproaches for my not talking honestly that you made in your last letter. But listen to my excuses: you know Europe, know my situation, and can easily conclude from that

that, in the long run, I shall not be able to remain in Europe. Income is no larger than expenditures; there is no hope of improvement, but rather a fear of deterioration, should things continue in this way for some time to come; add to this the tremendous expenses and taxes, etc. This has led me to the desire to emigrate, but mother is afraid, and I did not want to seem, by being openhearted, as if I intended to become a burden to you. You ask what my plan in this world is—by no means to stay in Europe—as long as the good mother is alive, I must remain on European soil, of course, although *here are but a few flowers*. My view of life is that *Life is a frost of cold felicitie, And death the thaw of all vanitie*.

But now to the main point: as was said already, mother is afraid of being in as dire straits, or possibly worse off, in America; this fear would disappear if you were to write definitely that we should come. Of course, this is not too easy for you. You must know whether your circumstances will permit you to care for mother, at least in the beginning. I am not afraid for myself, I hope to obtain a position as clerk or bookkeeper; or, if you should need one yourself, so much the better; I could also travel to buy and sell for you, and this would perhaps help both you and me. Should you not be able to make use of me, I would find a place elsewhere, *having no wife or children to provide for*. Now I have been as honest as a brother, but you, too, dear brother, must now be benevolent and by no means believe that I plan to burden you. Write your definite opinion about it and your advice, if you're able to advise.

In Europe the play will soon be over. [Do not believe] that I want to be an adventurer. What is especially close to mother's heart is that she would have to sell the old chinaware [?]. It was my firm intention not to say another word about America, but your letter demands an answer. Wish we had just one short hour to talk things over face-to-face. *My resolution is taken*. Don't mention anything openly in your next letter, since mother knows nothing of the answer contained in this letter. But speak clearly and definitely. I shall believe what my beloved brother writes me. *Fare well*.

Your ever loving brother.

P.S. Kleeberg's parents expect a letter from their son and have not written for that reason. I asked watchmaker Kleeberg six times

in person and in writing for the Chalitsa-contract, but he thinks that they should leave him in peace since he gets nothing out of his brother. The watchmaker is a fool and his wife a *satan*. (She especially will not allow her husband to give his brother a Chalitsa-contract). I took great pains to do business for you, but the merchants shrug their shoulders; nobody wants to send merchandise across the sea without money or a bill of exchange. You also know that as long as I have this miniature. . . . I can hardly stay away from home for two days. It would be my greatest pleasure to be of assistance to you; the will is not lacking. The addresses I send you are those of the largest and most solid houses. Their *sale* is at fixed prices. You would still be able to get merchandise without paying cash immediately if a house which is already well established would guarantee you. I await a letter and an answer from you with impatience. I don't want to write any news; it would not interest the American. We are all well, thank God! And greet you cordially. *My compliments to Mr. I. Hyneman & his wife,⁸² I'll conclude this letter wishing you might answer in a short time & fare well till we see us again. Your you heartily loving brother*

Charles Lucius Mailert

CL

The Search for Opportunities, 1836

As the relatively recent immigrant gained some knowledge of English and of the nature of the economic society into which he had come, he began to cast about for a place in which he could settle down to a small business. In the course of his own wanderings, as a peddler or as an agent for someone else's business, he explored the possibilities of the various places through which he passed. He wrote to acquaintances to sound out the prospects for establishing a new business in their neighborhoods. He wanted a fixed place in his new homeland.

When August Mailert wrote to his friend John Kreidler⁸³ about opportunities for opening a store in Lower Nazareth, Pa., he was probably chiefly interested in settling in a place where he had relatives and where there was a fairly large German-speaking population.⁸⁴ The report that Kreidler gave in the letter printed below was not encouraging to Mailert's hopes.

280. JOHANNES KREIDLER TO
AUGUST MAILERT, 1836⁸⁵

Lower Nazareth Feby 20th 1836

Augustus Mailert
My friend

I received the letter which you wrote on Feby 12th &c. and read that you were well at the time as were we, too, and are now, and hope our letter will arrive while you are well. I cannot say much about a store-stand in my neighborhood; they are very rare but it could be that one could still find one. I myself would feel like doing such a business if I could find a good stand but at the moment I do not know anything definite about a store-stand except that of Jacob Schweitzer [?] but he is not doing too well; further I have

not yet chosen to do any business but bought myself a lot in the village (Newburgh), close by [] inn. This spring I am going through a lot, namely, my wife as we think will give birth to a son or daughter, I must sell, take in and pay out money, give and take letters of credit and move to Newburgh; all this comes at about the same time, not easy for me; but I hope all will go well. We have frequently had snow and indescribable cold this winter and still have some of it. There is nothing to write anymore but I know that we would still have much to talk about if we were together.

I am and also intend to remain your friend Johannes Kreidler

CLI

Go West, Young Man, Go West!

1836

Soon after this disappointing letter from John Kreidler,⁸⁶ August Mailert had the occasion to go to what was then new country, Illinois. When he wrote from there to his uncle, S. Meylert, the older man replied urging his nephew to settle down permanently in Illinois. "There is no doubt," he wrote prophetically, "that in a few years Illinois will be one of the first states in America." The elder Meylert encouraged his nephew to learn English in order to get ahead. The letter also reports on the uncle's situation; on the eve of the depression of 1837, the older man was doing fairly well but looking ahead to the possibility that his land in Pennsylvania would become much more valuable when the railroad came within a few miles of it.

281. S. MEYLERT TO AUGUST MAILERT, 1836⁸⁷

September 15th 1836

Mr. Augustus Mailert

My dear nephew:

I duly received your dear letter of August 13th, and you can not imagine in what kind of embarrassment I was because you did not answer my letter of Feb. 29 earlier. I was happy to learn that you are satisfied with your present situation and hope that the Almighty will assist you, and that you will be satisfied with the condition you are in. There is no doubt that in a few years Illinois will be one of the first states in America, and I counsel you, if you have as good a partner as you believe, to strike as many roots there as possible. Should you have some small capital to spare which you could save out of your business I would advise you to buy some land; how-

ever, you ought to have the money to spare otherwise it would not be advantageous for you. My family is very well, thank God, and wishes you all good and satisfaction. As for my own situation, I am very well; I have as much to do as I could wish for, and I paid 250 Dollars on my land about two weeks ago. It is likely that a railroad will pass within 12 miles of my land in a few years, and then I hope to be able to sell it for a good price. I hold my position as Commission clerk now and hope to get it again next year. My dear nephew, I wish you would study the English language which will be absolutely essential for your further progress. Would it not be better for you if you would write me in English and I would answer you in the same language? Please have the kindness to write me again soon so that I always know where you are.

Stay well and healthy, this is the wish of your friend and brother
S. Meylert

CLII

Settling Down, 1840

After all his wanderings, when August Mailert settled down it was in one of the older Jewish settlements, that of Richmond Va. Here other relatives, of the Hyneman family, lived. Here he was married, and became an employee of his connections by marriage, the Ezekiel family.⁸⁸ Later, after the period of our concern, he became a prominent merchant and a power in the Jewish community.⁸⁹ By now, he and his uncle, S. Meylert, carry on their correspondence in English. The letter to Mailert from his uncle which is printed below reports on S. Meylert's situation, which is again clarifying itself and re-suming its even tenor after the Panic of 1837. It is interesting to note from this report that both of S. Meylert's sons were at this time striking off on their own, away from their father's farm and business. The older son had been a teacher for a time and was now one of the editors of a newspaper. The younger son, who had held the post of an assistant teacher in a school in the vicinity of his father's farm, was about to work on "the Canal."⁹⁰ As the immigrant put down roots in America, the second generation deliberately uprooted itself, and moved on with the country.

282. S. MEYLERT TO AUGUST MAILERT, 1840⁹¹

Reading Pa Augt 13th 1840

Mr Augustus Mailert
Dr Nephew,

It is a good while that I intended [sic] to write to you, but could not find the time and mind together to sit down and draw an epistle to you. My son Amos mentioned to me, that you wrote to him, your health being good, and that your intentions are to enter the matrimonial life. May heaven bless you and your chosen one, and may

you rear a family in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and live a long and happy life together.

As regards myself, my health is tolerable, old age is creeping on and I feel the infirmities thereof. My business is increasing and I have more than I can cleverly do. Amos you know is one of the Editors of a newspaper, my second son Michael is to work on the Canal, and I have to trudge along alone. I am truly sorry that I cannot get one of them to help me, and it would be profitable to them, but it seems that patience which is very necessary in my business, is of age and not of youth. I hope yet to induce Amos to assist me, as it would make a good living for him, and I might introduce him in the business, that he could have a tolerable good income for life. All the time my office⁹² allowed me I have been spending in my business and especially travelling. I went to the State of NYork in business abt the 17th of July, and retd in the beginning of August. As I had a few days to spare, I went under the guidance of a friend of mine to Ontario Co⁹³ and purchd some improved stock cattle, sheep and hogs to try to raise some good cattle, and I hope that in a few years, if the Lord gives me life, I shall reap the benefit. Last fall I purchased a little place of abt 40 a[cre]s and paid \$800 for it, which brings my farm out on the Turnpike, and if the Lord blesses me as he has done hitherto, I calculate to build me a snug little house on the Turnpike, and let my farm out as hitherto; as I would make a costly farmer, without any profit. Should I find an opportunity to sell my farm before that time, I may do so; but times are not very propitious for selling large farms. I am on the road to Philada where I believe my business will detain me abt 8 or 10 days. I give you my direction for that place. If I can finish my business here and start in the afternoon train, I may be there to day, if not, then I hope to be there to morrow.

Should you find time to write to me imm'y please direct your letter as directed on the other side—When you write please to let me know your present situation, as well as your prospects for the future, and when I may hope to see you once more. Write to me if you have entered the married State or if not yet when you calculate to be married.

As the breakfast bell has rung I close with hopes to hear from you soon.

Have you had lately any letters from Europe? and what news have you?

With love and respect to your intended [sic] or present Lady and regards to Messrs Ezekiel & Hyneman and their families I remain
Your affectionate

S. Meylert

CLIII

Obstacles to Emigration, 1840

In the five years that elapsed since the earlier letter from Charles Lucius Mailert to his brother that was included in this collection,⁹⁴ the life of brother August in America had changed considerably. After scratching together a living in various ventures in different parts of the country he had married and settled into business in Richmond. Brother Charles in Germany had also married, but in his case that was the sum total of the changes in his life. August's invitation to come to America is treated still more gingerly than five years earlier, because now it is his wife as well as his mother who might face an uncertain future. By this time, Charles wrote his letter in a rather absurd combination of literary and illiterate English.

The fact seems to be that in these two brothers we have two distinct temperaments. August was less the intellectual than his brother; witness the length of time that it took him to learn English. He had, however, the venturesome, enterprising spirit that made a good immigrant; he took many chances and ultimately was successful. His brother lacked decisiveness and boldness, though as an intellectual he understood the hopelessness of his situation in Germany. The man of enterprise moved *to* America and *with* America. The more cultured and more timorous man conjured up obstacles and remained in a hopeless position in his native land.

283. CHARLES L. MAILERT TO
AUGUST MAILERT, 1840⁹⁵

Cassel, Octob. 31. 1840

Dear brother.

This mourning I receivd your long expected letter of Sept 24 and am happy to learn by it that you yet are enjoying a good health and that I now dare congratulate you to your consummation of mar-

riage. God grant you may always be a prosper husband of a prosper wife, Concord and contentedness that bless more than riches, must always crown your life.

Dear brother Your invitation to emigrate to Am. heartly I might be subsequent, and rather this day than to morrow, but I've family, I dare not persuade to it our good mother, because it is not in my power to secure her a life and old age without trouble and comfortable & she needs more peace in her age as if she were yet 30 years ago. Neither of us doubts your good heart and will, but are you able to offer also other means? Which is the fate that I can offer to our good mother and my housewife if the expensiveness which the voyage etc. caused has me deprived of all my fortunes? There I were in a strange country in which my brother lives, who though with the best brotherly heart and wishes, but alas! it is perhaps not in his power to lend a hand till I can aid my myself in the new sphere of activity. It would be an other case if I had the convincement that my brother were possessing as well of goods as he possesses good will: the German say: dont fill up dirty water before thou hast cleared. Consider all and write pleasily as soon as possible, it may be that if your answer is satisfying my good mother and my dear wife take perhaps the resolution to follow your inviting. I'm tired the fatigues of a school master, but duties bit [bid] to act with the greatest precaution though I go to meet here the certainly undergo. Calling out in my last letter there I thought it would be in the old world if I also know that it would be better for us in the new; but alas! how could I expose our mother and my wife to a doubtfull future? Were I yet single I would take refuge with America and seek there a better fate, but now the old mother and my wife must be secured for want and need. In the case that we can and shall see us again in short than write giving account about your bussiness to our good mother and to my wife and invite them; but before consider sufficiently and than *as God will!*

I'm desirous to learn know your lady and beg you to remember me, the mother and my wife kindly to her and to the family. S. Meylert and particularly to the praised Mrs Amos.⁹⁶ My wife render her service to you. My babe is a little angel, she calls already Pa-pa and is already weaned. We have to expect a very soon war between france & Russl. Engl and Germany, our military is already ready.

Sooner or later. we see us again! that is the only hope of your affectionated brother

Charles Lucius Mailert

P.S. What life make the physicians in America, a friend of mind thinks to go to the united state from here. fare well C L Mailert

Mstr. A Mailert

CLIV

The Decline of the Jewish Community of Newport, 1790-1823

Before the Revolution, the city of Newport, Rhode Island, had been a prosperous and growing commercial town. Its Jewish citizens, though hampered by some restrictive legislation, were active both in the business life of the port and in the organization of a strong Jewish community.⁹⁷ Their synagogue building was one of the beauty spots of the area and has been reconstructed as a national shrine. Newport's commerce, however, never really recovered after the Revolution, and its early Jewish community faded into unimportance. Property in Newport still owned by the older families was often managed by a resident agent for a non-resident owner. This was especially true after 1818, when, it was said, only three Jewish families remained in Newport, and the remaining representative of one of these families, Joseph Lopez,⁹⁸ left the town early in the next decade.

The documents printed below have been selected to illustrate various aspects of the decline of the Jewish community of Newport. This decline is one type of Jewish experience in the New World which occurred during the early national period. It serves to illustrate how closely the fortunes of the Jews and their institutions were tied to the development and the decay of the communities in which they settled. It will be noted that most of these documents are dated from other places than Newport, although they are concerned with affairs in Newport or with Jews whose names are connected with the Newport Jewish community. In the dispersal of these leaders and their interests, the decline of Newport as a center of Jewish life is revealed.

284. SETTLEMENT OF
AARON LOPEZ'S⁹⁹ ESTATE, 1790-1795¹⁰⁰

Worcester Ss.

To Joseph Russell Junr¹⁰¹ Gentn Christopher Gore¹⁰² of Boston in the County of Suffolk Esquire, Commissioners appointed to Examine the Claims of the Creditors to the Estate of Aaron Lopez late of Leicester in the said County of Worcester Mercht deceased.

Whereas Joseph Lopez Admr on sd Estate hath represented to me, that a further time is necessary to Compleat the Examination of said Claims, You are therefore hereby allowed six months from this date to finish said Business when you are to make return of this & the former Comns with all your doings thereon unto the probate Office in said County of Worcester. You are also to give public notice of the times and place of your Meeting to attend upon said Business, as directed in your former Commission.

Given under my Hand & Seal of the Court of Probate for sd County of Worcester, this 26th day of Novr Anno Domini 1790

Joseph Wheeler Reg¹⁰³

By order of the Hon. Judge

In Senate November 16 1792

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

On the petition of Joseph Lopez praying that the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester may be authorized to give a further time to the Commissioners appointed by the Judge to examine the claims of the Creditors of the Estate of Aaron Lopez deceased

Resolved for reason set forth in said petition that the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester be and hereby is authorized and directed to extend the Commission of Joseph Russell jun Merchant and Christopher Gore Esqr both of Boston in the County of Suffolk and Walter Channing¹⁰⁴ of Newport in the State of Rhode Island Commissioners appointed to examine the Claims to the afore-said estate for the term of nine months from the passing this resolve to receive and examine said claims and report thereon to the

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aforesaid Judge of Probate accordingly, any law or resolve to the contrary notwithstanding

Sent down for concurrence

Samuel Phillips ¹⁰⁵ Prsdt

In the House of Representatives Novr 16 1792 Read & Concurred

David Cobb ¹⁰⁶ Spkr

Approved John Hancock ¹⁰⁷

A true copy Attest John Avery jun Secretary

In the House of Representatives Sept 27. 1793

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

On the petition of Joseph Lopez Administrator on the Estate of Aaron Lopez late of Leicester in the County of Worcester deceased praying that a further time may be allowed for bringing in & exhibiting claims against the Estate of said Aaron

Resolved that the Judge of Probate of Wills &c within and for the County of Worcester be and he hereby is authorized to extend the Commission of the Persons heretofore by him appointed to hear & examine the claims against the said Estate or to appoint other Persons for that purpose, and that he grant the further time of nine Months from the day of passing this Resolve for them to make their Report to him according to Law any Law or Resolve to the contrary notwithstanding

sent up for Concurrence

Edward H. Robbins Spkr

In Senate Sept 27. 1793 Read & concurred Saml Phillips Prsdt

Approved John Hancock

A true Copy Attest John Avery jun Secy

In the House of Representatives Feby 2d 1795

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

On the petition of Joseph Lopez, administrator on the estate of Aaron Lopez late of Leicester in the County of Worcester deceased intestate, Resolved that the prayer of the petition be granted, and that the Judge of probate for the County of Worcester be, and hereby is authorized & impowered to renew & extend the Commission for examining claims on the estate of said Aaron Lopez for a

term not exceeding twelve months from the twenty Seventh day of June last past.

Sent up for concurrence

Edw H Robbins Speaker

In Senate February 10th 1795 Read and concurred

Saml Phillips Presidt

Feby 11th 1795 Approved

Saml Adams ¹⁰⁸

True copy Attest John Avery jun Secy

285. WILL OF DAVID LOPEZ,¹⁰⁹ 1797¹¹⁰

In the name of God, Amen. I David Lopez of Boston in the County of Suffolk & Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being sick & weak in body, but of sound mind memory and understanding (Praised be God for it) and considering the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time thereof, and to the end I may be the better prepared to leave this world, whenever it shall please God to call me hence, Do therefore make and declare this my last will & testament, hereby revoking and making void all former wills by me at any time heretofore made; and first and principally I commit my soul into the hands of my Creator, who gave it, and my body to the earth, to be interred at the discretion of my Executors herein after named; and as to such worldly estate, wherewith it hath pleased God to entrust me, I dispose of the same as followeth: Imprimis, I order all my debts & funeral charges to be paid by my Executors herein after named, as soon as may be after my decease; I give and bequeath unto Esther Gomez,¹¹¹ wife of Moses Mordecai Gomez,¹¹² Rebecca Hendricks¹¹³ wife of Uriah Hendricks,¹¹⁴ Hannah Reveira¹¹⁵ wife of Abraham Rodrigues Reveira,¹¹⁶ Abigail Gomez,¹¹⁷ wife of Isaac Moses Gomez, Miriam Lopez,¹¹⁸ Deborah Lopez,¹¹⁹ Judith Lopez,¹²⁰ Grace Lopez,¹²¹ Joshua Lopez,¹²² Samuel Lopez,¹²³ my beloved nephews & neices, all Children of my late beloved brother Aaron Lopez,¹²⁴ One hundred Dollars each, for their own use and disposal. I also give & bequeath unto Moses Lopez¹²⁵ and Jacob Lopez,¹²⁶ two other of my beloved nephews, Children of my beloved brother Abraham Lopez,¹²⁷ One hundred Dollars each. I also give and bequeath unto Sarah Deming¹²⁸ Widow, for her faithful attention and kind services to me during my sickness, One hundred Dollars, over and above all her charges for my board &

living. I also give and bequeath unto Beth Bass¹²⁹ Widow Fifty Dollars. I also give & bequeath unto Rebecca Isaacs¹³⁰ wife of Jacob Isaacs¹³¹ of Newport in the State of Rhode island, One hundred Dollars. I also give & bequeath unto Grace Levi,¹³² widow of the late Hyam Levi,¹³³ also of Newport, One hundred Dollars. All of which Legacies aforementioned, I order any Executors herein after named to pay to the several legatees aforesaid within three months after my decease. I also give and bequeath unto my friend Moses Michael Hays¹³⁴ Esquire my silver hilted sword, in token of my respect for him. I also give & bequeath unto Sarah Lopez,¹³⁵ widow of my late beloved brother Aaron Lopez, my silver sugar pot and pepper box. And, lastly, as to the residue & remainder of my estate, goods, & chattels, of what kind and nature soever, I give and bequeath the same unto my beloved Nephew, Joseph Lopez,¹³⁶ son of my late brother Aaron Lopez. And I do hereby appoint my worthy friend Moses Michael Hays Esquire and my Nephew Joseph Lopez aforementioned to be the joint Executors of this my last will & testament.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eighth day of December in the Year of the Christian Æra, One Thousand seven hundred & ninety seven. David Lopez

Signed, Sealed, published & declared by the above-named David Lopez to be his last will and testament, in presence of us, who have hereunto subscribed our names, as Witnesses in the presence of the testator & each other.

Charles Paine
Abraham Touro¹³⁷
Faith Butler

286. A GROCERY IN NEWPORT, 1809¹³⁸

Jacob & Joshua Lopez,¹³⁹ Offer for Sale at their Store No. 5, the North side of Washington-square and next door to Mr. Charles Feke:¹⁴⁰ The following articles of Grocery, warranted to be genuine:

Best Cogniac Brandy.

Jamaica Spirits.

St. Croix Rum.

Madeira Wine, of a particular kind.

Lisbon Ditto

Teneriffe Ditto

Constantia Ditto

Malaga Ditto

Claret Ditto

Molasses

Hyson, Hyson-skin, Souchong and Bohea Teas.

Loaf, Lump, Powdered, Clay'd and Musca-

[Vado Sugar]

West-India and Batavia Coffee.

Pimento, Pepper, Currants, Raisins.

Chocolate, Almonds, Ginger.

London Mustard, Hard Soap.

Also, 200 wt. of Bees Wax.

And other Articles usually called for in the Grocery Line.

Those who are desirous of purchasing Groceries of the first Quality, are requested to call at their Store, where the smallest favours will be gratefully acknowledged.

Newport, January 7, 1809.

287. MASONIC NOTICE, 1809¹⁴¹

The Most Worshipful Moses Seixas,¹⁴² Grand Master,
A Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge of the State of
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, will be holden at Mason's
Hall in Providence, on Monday, the 27th instant, at 5 o'clock P.M.
of which the Officers and Members of the Grand Lodge, Proxies
of Lodges, and all others concerned, are requested to take notice,
and give their punctual attendance accordingly.

By order,

Otis Ammidon, *Grand Secretary.*

Providence, Feb 8, A. L. 5809

288. JOSEPH LOPEZ TO STEPHEN GOULD,¹⁴³ 1822¹⁴⁴

Greenwich August 19th 1822

Respected friend Stephen Gould

By the return of Captn. Bliss I had the pleasure of receiving your

very kind letter of the 23d Ulto advising you then intended sending by him the two beds & bedsteads belonging to my Kinsman Moses Lopez,¹⁴⁵ which I now inform you he has received & once again request me to say, that the ready attention you paid to his commands claims from him the return of his Sincere & grateful thanks. He is willing to admit the probability of his having omitted those two articles in the list he Sent you enclosed in my first letter, in which case you are entirely clear from any Kind of Neglect, & the blame lays altogether on himself. Although he is much disappointed in observing that the Shop remains Still without a Tenant, he is perfectly convinced in his mind, it is not for want of exertion on your part to procure a Suitable one if it could be obtained in these hard times, & hopes that before long some application may present to let it out even for a Small rent if nothing better can be done. On his departure from Newport he let his half of the house to his good friend Betsey Perry at the rate of Forty Dollars & p Anum payable to you quarterly from the 1st. day of May last, & as the first quarter was up the last of July, he desires you to receive it if she can conveniently pay it. & not otherways, as he much rather wait sometime than to put her to any difficulty, being satisfied that the money is safe. Friend Williams receives his part of the rent from Mrs. Eldred, & to them both as well as to their other Sister not forgetting little John please to remember him very particularly. extending also his & my best regards to every one of your connections, & all friends mentioned in my last. When the above rent is paid, he desires me to mention that agreeable to agreement between you both, you are to retain in your hands from it any commission you may think proper to compensate the trouble he has given you, & the loss of your time, the remainder you will be kind to enclose in a letter to me entrusted to the care of Capt. Bliss.

I Notice that friend Williams has paid the Note at the Bank & Cousin Moses with myself are glad to hear he is better of his complaint trusting when he comes to Newyork he will pay us a visit

Agreeable to your desire my Said Cousin encloses herein his Acc's against W. & J. Barber,¹⁴⁶ which please to Settle & receive the Small balance due to him. He continues Still much the Same of his rheumatism & with Sentiments of much esteem. I am Your frind &c.

Joseph Lopez

P.S. remember to deduct the Draye of beds & bedsteads.

289. ABRAHAM TOURO'S BEQUEST, 1823¹⁴⁷

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island Gentlemen

I take the liberty to inform your Honorable Body, that Abraham Touro Esqr. by his last Will & Testament dated at Boston 17th October 1822, bequeathed a Legacy in the following words vizt.

[“] Item, I give Ten thousand dollars to the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, for the purpose of supporting the Jewish Synagogue in that State,¹⁴⁸ in special trust to be appropriated to that object, in such manner as the said Legislature, together with the Municipal Authority of the Town of Newport, may, from time to time direct & appoint.”

Knowing that your annual meeting is at this season I think proper to make this communication, although I shall not be able to pay over the amount until the Month of July or perhaps later. I deem it proper to make known the circumstances, that your Honorable Body may think such order on the subject, either by appointing a Committee to act with me, and the Municipal Authority of Newport, or otherwise as it may deem meet & proper until its next meeting.

It may be timely for me to remark on the subject of this Bequest, regarding what I suppose to have been the intention of the Donor. From the decayed state of the Synagogue in Newport & the want of any family or persons of Jewish persuasion there, the deceased, with some others, seriously resolved to look into the situation of the property, and devise some plan to revive the Jewish religion there; and in such way & manner as to induce some of that nation to settle & keep up a worship, at least in such a degree that the building, enclosures, & the Institution itself, should not go entirely to ruin & decay

It was also the intention of the deceased, & others to have applied to your Honorable Body at the last fall sessions for an Act granting & confirming to them a Deed of the Estate where the Synagogue stands in perpetuae [?] (although there is no dispute as to the right & title) Also for an act of Incorporation & appointment of Trustees to the Institution. The deceased, upon his death-bed, and

in a hurried moment, in order to effect the object, granted this legacy.

It is my wish, as far as lays in my power to effect the purposes intended by the donor; and I flatter myself that your Honorable Body & the Municipal Authority of Newport, will have the same desire.

I beg leave further to observe that the Hon Chrstr G Champlin ¹⁴⁹ Hon Wm Hunter ¹⁵⁰ & Mr Stephen Gould ¹⁵¹ of Newport, have been acquainted with the deceased, with his connections & I believe, in a degree, with the proposed intentions upon which I have remarked. The latter gentleman has disinterestedly attended to, & taken care of the Burying-ground & Synagogue, manifesting thereby his friendship & liberality. If not improper, I would venture to suggest (without their consent, or knowledge that they would serve) the propriety of appointing, on the Committee of the Assembly or as Trustees of the Fund, one or all of those gentlemen as circumstances, & the wisdom of the Assembly may dictate.

I shall be happy to conform to any order that may be taken on the subject, & am, with all due respect Gentlemen your Obt Servant

Titus Welles ¹⁵² Executor to the
Will of Abraham Touro deceased

Dated at Boston May 7 1823

CLV

Jews on the Western Frontier, 1805-1836

While some of the older Jewish communities in the United States were in decay, like Newport, or entering a period of decline, like Charleston in the 1830s, a few isolated Jews can be found pioneering on the western and southern frontiers. The group of documents below tell of two early Jewish settlers on the western frontier, one in upper Michigan and Wisconsin, the other in Missouri. Men like these were the advance guard of the large Jewish communities that were later to develop in the Middle West.

John Lawe¹⁵³ was in Green Bay, Wisconsin, by 1805. In that year, he purchased from his uncle, Jacob Franks¹⁵⁴ (of the Montreal family), an equipped farm near Michilimackinac, which was an important northern outpost in the fur trade.¹⁵⁵ During the War of 1812, both Lawe and Franks were British sympathizers; Franks was regarded by Americans in that region as a dangerous enemy. Later, Lawe became the agent for John Jacob Astor's¹⁵⁶ American Fur Company in Green Bay. In 1836, when the fur trade was doing poorly, Lawe owed the Astor company a large sum of money. His long letter of explanation for the accumulation of this debt reveals a great deal about the problems that beset the isolated frontiersman, whether Jewish or not.

The problems faced by Samuel Solomon¹⁵⁷ in St. Louis were of a different sort, but no less real. St. Louis, at this time, was a center of the western fur trade, and there were a few Jewish merchants in that place as early as 1808. The Philipson brothers of Philadelphia had a member of the family in St. Louis as a representative by 1808.¹⁵⁸ Solomon himself was probably there a year or two earlier. St. Louis was dominated by the boisterous and roistering French *voyageurs*, like the Chouteau family whose name appears in the

documents below. Sober citizens and merchants like Solomon walked in fear of the *voyageurs*, and with reason, too, for twice in the year 1808 Solomon was assaulted by them. He evidently survived these attacks, for his name is to be found on many official documents in his office as clerk both before and after being attacked. Indeed, as late as 1821, his name is mentioned in a petition for the appointment of a justice of the peace in the little town of Carondelett, in the County of St. Louis. During the War of 1812, Solomon reported on the activities of the British in the west, as they came to his attention in his strategic outpost on the Mississippi River.

290. JACOB FRANKS'S DEED TO
JOHN LAWE, 1805¹⁵⁹

To all to whom these Presents shall come, I Jacob Franks of Michilimackinac, Wayne County, in Michigan Territory and United States of America Merchant, do send Greeting, know ye, that for and in Consideration of the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds Hallifax Currency to me in hand paid by John Lawe of Michillimackinac aforesaid Clerk (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged) Have sold, granted, given, bargained, and made over unto the said John Lawe his Heirs Exors, Administrators and Assigns all and singular my farming Utensils, at my late farms (now the Property of the said John Lawe) situated at the Green Bay, and on the River du Diable in said Territory, together with all the Household furniture I am at Present possessed of, as also Seven Milch Cows, eight Horses, twelve Oxen, and thirty Pigs of different and various sizes To have and to hold all the before mentioned farming Utensils, goods, and Chattles unto the said John Lawe his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns from henceforth as his, and their property, goods, and Chattles, absolutely without any claim, right, title, Interest, Property or Demand whatsoever of, in, or to the same, by either me the said Jacob Franks, or my Heirs, Executors, Administrators or assigns, or any other person, or persons, claiming, or to claim, any right, title or Interest of, in, or to the same ever hereafter.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand, and Affixed my

Seal at Michillimackinac this twenty third Day of July in the year
of our Lord God one thousand Eight hundred and five

Jacob Franks

Signed Sealed and Executed in Presence of Arthur Wade
David. Duncan

Received from the within named John Lawe the sum of One Hundred and fifty Pounds Halifax Currey. being the Consideration money in the within Deed mentioned the Day and year first within written. £150 0 0 Hall C.Y.

Jacob Franks

Witness Present Arthur Wade David. Duncan

291. JOHN LAWE TO
JOHN JACOB ASTOR, 1836¹⁶⁰

Green Bay 6th May 1836

The hon J.J. Astor New York

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 26th March last with also a Copy of a Letter annexed dated 17th Decr. last came duly to hand the 5th Instant informing me of the Amount of Notes of hand you had in your hands against me. not having the honor of being personally acquainted with you but only from hearsay I beg that you will excuse me for the great liberty I take of my intruding on your patience a little time If you will have the goodness to listen by relating to you a little part of my grievances. I was not a little surprized in the first place and quite down hearted as I did not expect to be called on immediately at present for to make any part of the payment for what I owed you. Interest or principle as I had previously enquired and wished very much to know from Robert Stuart¹⁶¹ Esquire then agent of the Am. Fur. Co as I had wrote him when I got back from Mackinac to this place in the Summer 1834 If he knew at what time I would be called upon for to pay that Debt that I had given my notes to him for as I did not wish to be taken unawares as it gave me a great deal of anxiety as in the way I was situated. in answer

from him I think as much I had understood from his Letter as I have not yet it before [me] now that he said that you would give me ample time to try & pay it & that he thought that you would not distress me in the least as long as I acted correct which put my mind a little at ease as when ever I have the means I am always ready & willing to pay without being asked for it as the sooner a person can pay his debts it is so much the better but I do not wish to be persecuted or in any ways Oppressed for my debt as long as I am unable to pay it but it would appear or I may imagine otherwise but I hope I may be mistaken that you would wish to commence on me immediately as there is other Indian traders that I believe owed the Am. Fur Co in this place also and they have not been notified as yet as I have understood so I think that it is only pointed to me. I do not know if so that it should be the Case for what reasons if it is for my bad or good deeds I have done in my life. I do not know that I have ever acted wrong or unjust in all my dealings with the Am. Fur Co or with any other person in every respect I have had all my dealings with the Am. Fur Comp. for a number of years back ever since the year 1820 [?] I have had the great misfortune of carrying on a small [].

Debts without having ample Compensation If I had owed a Large private Debt to the Am. Fur Co in proportion with the other partners why it wont have been a little more reasonable Some of these Gentlemen partners ought not to Complain as they have large Amounts of private Debt gave up to them when Closing their Mortgages but it has been quite the reverse with me I had not a Single Cent gave me to be on equal footing with the others and I would wish to know for what reason that I should be treated worse then the other partners I found that it came heavy and hard on me and did not know the reason for why. when I spoke to Robert Stuart Esquire Four Summers past at McKinac Mr Crooks ¹⁶² was present at the same time about this Mortgage as most every body was telling me those that was friendly as well as otherwise that I ought to get rid of the Mortgage & Speak to the Agents about it. In what Situation I found myself that it was hard for me and the people also in general found it very hard for me as I had Such a very beautiful and Eligible Spot and Such a large tract of 730 acres of Land & such a valuable Spot and all the other partners Shares was not

to be Compared to it in the least this had troubled my mind a great deal when I had really found out the Nature of it as much as it was in every persons mouths and advising me do this way and that way but I would not listen to any Such thing for all [] my advantage what these people advised me to do but [] the generosity of the agents & to yourself. I understood then at that time the agent to say that I would not pay any more than the other partners all equally I was grateful to them for it & thanked them for their goodness & I do not know if you would wish to believe me or not I believe I can find a most honorable and Creditable Witness that was present at the time when they should or Mr Stuart should have said so but I am really very sorry to say for the present that it is far from being the Case but I still live in great hopes that you will take this thing into consideration for if it should remain so I have been dealt hard by and the other partners get all their private Debts, Interest & gave up to them what they owed to the company before they made that Mortgage where there was some very large Sums due by them Mr R. Stuart called Mr. Porter Mr Cecyl [Seepior?] & myself in a Room together at McKinac in the Summer 1834 and very seriously told us that he would give us up from that Mortgage we giving our debt in your name Mr Crooks & himself & appearing to [show] to us that he appeared to be sincere & that he did not care for [] &c &c & that he would make it appear that he was a going to make business or trade in all that time I have not had the good fortune as some traders has had to do something in the Indian Trade. I repeat it once more that it has been a great misfortune for me to have been placed in Such a Situation as in this part of Indian Country that I have traded in as it was quite ruined for the hunt, and I Still kept on in that trade living in hopes that if there was an opportunity of a Chance that the Agent of the Am. Fur Co at Makinac would have gave it to me by placing me in a most favourable Country but alas all my hopes was blasted my Chance never came no opportunity has ever been given me for to make Money. I have been so Situated that it would have been a fortunate thing for me that I had not meddled with the Indian trade in this part of District of Country I would have been a great deal better of in Situation in every respect by far, my property & place paternal that I may call it so that I loved and adored so much that I

had jointly mortgaged not perfectly knowing or understanding the Consequences that I was binding myself with the other partners that we was each responsible to pay each others private debts. I was owing a small Sum of a private debt & I paid it the year following at the same time I was thinking that I was merely Mortgaging to pay my equal dividend for the amount We owed jointly to the Am. Fur Co. or otherwise it is Certain or at least ought to be supposed that I would have never consented to any Such arrangement as my property was worth a great deal more money by a large amount than either of the Partners what they [owned in(?)] proportion that everybody in this place knows and as it was not binding with the other partners to pay or secure me in any Compensation according to each of our property for my share which I found realy very hard indeed as that Shows you please Sir, that If I had well understood the nature of that Mortgage that I would have never Consented to any Such thing without taking my precautions for to get Security from the other partners for an equal proportion according to the value of each of our property to be estimated otherwise if they had not consented to those arrangements the business would have been broken up and each would have arranged his affairs with the agents of the Am. Fr. Co the best way he could but to Cut Short I would not have agreed to any Such thing from the first Commencement If I had understood that I was binding myself any way more than my equal dividend of the amount that the Green Bay Co owed jointly I went so Cooly and fairly about it that I was so very ignorant about the nature of this very Mortgage that I was so very Sure that the Spring following we was going to lift or take up the Mortgage I Indeed asked this [Foolish?] question to Mr. Stuart & Said to him we will take up [] great Sacrifice & that he was a doing us a great deal of good and in not knowing anything to the Contrary but as Soon as I came back to Green Bay I saw Mr D. Whitney ¹⁶³ & he was speaking to me about the mortgage If I had done anything about my Mortgage Land I told him that it was. I had deeded it away then he told me he had offered Mr Stuart 10 or 12 Thousand Dollars in the Spring at Mckinac & would have pay'd him in one Month from the day that he saw Mr Stuart so when we heard that we thought it was very Singular that Mr Stuart Should appear to have shewed that he was doing us a great deal of Good & shewed that he has

some feelings for our Situation in regard of our Mortgage & at the same time he had been offered that Sum a long time before in the Spring at Mckinac. I then wrote to Mr Stuart as soon as I had heard what Mr Whitney had said to us that I was happy to hear that he had not made such a Sacrifice as he appeared to Shew us at McKinac as Mr Whitney had told me the offer he hade made him previous to our giving up the Mortgage which I realy found Strange in him not meeting a word of this to us and in the next & last Settlement of 1834 & 1835 there was no favors nor liberal arrangement shown me I gave my Note of hand for the full amount what was supposed I owed but a number of the other Indian Traders had the good luck of geting their accounts Curtailed especially Some of them Considerable Sums as I have been informed If so I cannot account for what reason that I had no favour shewd me that is to say no liberal arrangement made with me is it because I [] but did as the agent pleased but others by talking a good deal examining & disputing th[] had liberal arrangements made them. I did not expect any thing more then any other of the Creditors but I expected as much at least is it because that I let Mr Stuart do as he pleased about pricing the Furs & Peltries every year without murmuring in any way while some others would dispute about the prices & would not Sell their Packs at McKinac but would send them away and was always sure of geting a great deal more for them ever hardly a time that ever failed in geting a great deal more can Mr Stuart say in any one instance that I wished to do any thing that was Supposed to be Wrong I do not think that he can point out one instance. I have often spoken to [Mr S]tuart in fact most every year & told him how my Situation was that I c[oul]d not make any thing in the Indian trade in this miserable part of [this distr]ict of Country as it was entirely barren & ruined & that it was out of the powe[r of a]ny man to make any thing & Mr. Stuart knows it well himself but th[at] he could give me any other district of Indian County I would chearfully go there & Stay for a number of Years & that I had not wintered out for 20 years past but that I would willingly leave my house home & fam[il]y If there was any chance gave me to make anything but, here was nothing done for me If I have been [greatly in]debted it is not from my great extravagance or bad management.

I hope you will forgive me writing you Such a long Letter but

I can not do better. I am willing to make any arrangements that I possibly can for to try & pay but I Still hope that you will please take every thing you can into Consideration and look at things how they Stand as it is a true Statement I have gave you & I could say a great deal more on the Subject if it was not tiring your patience too much. I hope you will take my Situation into Consideration & exonerate me from the amount of them notes I owe & I will ever pray & be grateful as I think as every one else thinks in this part of our Country it would be nothing more than part of Justice done me as it is a large & valuable piece of property gone out of my hands for a mere Song & as I have been ever a Complete Slave to this unfortunate Indian trade & devoted myself only to this thing of business & no other & am now incapable of doing any other kind of business as I have been always in the Same kind of business from my early days & now I am very old & Infirm

I spoke to Judge Doty ¹⁸⁴ last Fall about my Situation in life and he was pretty well acquainted with the whole of it himself that I wished and begged of him to write to you in my behalf as he could write a Letter to this purpose & give you a complete detail of my Circumstance concerning my Mortgage as well as every thing else and he promised me he would I saw him a few days after & he told me he had wrote to you & gave me a fine part (?) of the Contents which was nothing but the whole truth I do not know If you ever received it as I asked him before at more[]lace If he had received an answer to it from you he told me he [had] not I mentioned to him then what he thought would be the reason he replied that he Supposed that Mr Astor was expecting him down there and that you would talk to him about it there so I do not yet despair I live in great hopes Waiting for the arrival of Judge Doty that he will bring me some good news that will Cheer me up for in present Circumstances in every way I am in very low Spirits the Death of my wife lately is to be added to my misfortunes besides. I beg & hope that you will reflect seriously on this Subject and that you will not think that I am in anyways impertinent, unreasonable or imprudent in my demands by asking you this favor for the difference is so great between me & the others interested that it is too great an object for me to let slip and it should be realy very hard that I should be the greatest Victim as my property is large

& very advantageous and is worth a great deal more than any of the other partners by far and I think it would be doing me nothing more than rendering me Justice in part I then will feel happy & contented and I will never forget your goodness and kindness for so doing I pray that you will forgive me also for writing to you so long a Letter but I cannot do better I never professed to be a Letter writer and I hope that there is nothing in it that you will take offence at it if in case that there should be I do not mean it & hope that you will excuse me and [alluding(?)] it to my ignorance in the meantime in the hopes of receiving some answer from you that will revive my Spirits I am your most obdt Hbl Servt John Lawe

292. SAMUEL SOLOMON'S TROUBLES, 1808¹⁶⁵

District of Saint Louis

Samuel Solomon complains of Joseph Le Blond of a plea of Tresspass vi et armis for assault & Battery for that the said Defendant, at the Town and District of Saint Louis, with force and arms on the Twenty fifth day of May in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eight an assault made upon the body of the Plaintiff in the peace of God, and of the United States then and there being, and him the plaintiff did then and there beat strike and wound upon his head, and body, and other injuries to the said plaintiff the said defendant then and there did to the great damage of the plaintiff against the peace of the United States, and of the Territory of Louisiana, whereby the plaintiff hath sustained damage to the amount of Five Hundred Dollars

Wherefore he sues

by E. Hempstead¹⁶⁶
his atty

Samuel Solomon being duly sworn on the holy evangelists of Almighty God¹⁶⁷ says that on Wednesday the 25th May Instant in the deponent was assaulted and beaten in the Town of S Louis by a man of the name of Joseph Leblond. and further Oath note

Saml Solomon

Sworn to & subscribed before me the Justice of the peace for S Louis Township 25th May 1808

St. Louis District)

Township of S Louis)

The United States of America to the Constable of S Louis township
Greetings

You are hereby commanded to take Joseph Leblond if he may be found within the District aforesaid and have him forthwith before me a Justice of the peace for S Louis Township to answer of and concerning a breach of the peace alledged to have been made by him on the body of Samuel Solomon

Given under my hand at S Louis the 25th. May 1808

Thos. F. Riddick

Territory of Louisiana)

District of Saint Louis)

Sct. The United States of America to the Sheriff of Saint Louis
District

Greeting

We command you to summon Joseph LeBlond that he be and appear before the Judges of our Court of Common pleas to be holden at the town of Saint Louis within & for the District of Saint Louis on the first Monday of July next then there to answer unto Samuel Solomon of plea of trespass vi et armis for assault and battery to the damage of the said Samuel the sum of five hundred Dollars and have you then there this writ.

Witness the honorbl Silas Bent¹⁶⁸ presiding Judge of our said Court at the town of Saint Louis aforesaid the twenty sixth of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & eight and of our Independence the thirty second

Thos. F. Riddick Clk.

[Seal]

Kno[w] all men by these presents that we Pierre Guerret as principal and August Chouteau¹⁶⁹ as Surety are held and firmly bound unto the United States of America for the sum of One hundred dollars each to be levied of our goods and chattels.

On condition following

That whereas the above bound Pierre Guerret has as it is said

committed an assault, and Battery on Samuel Solomon and otherwise broken the peace now therefore if the said Pierre Guerret shall appear at the next court of Quarter Sessions to be holden at S Louis for the District of S Louis on the first Monday of March next and then & there be ready to answer unto what may be objected against him and not to depart this court without leave then the above obligation to be void order to remain in full force & virtue

Given under our hands at S Louis the 14th November 1808

Pierre Guerret his mark
Augt Chouteau

Taken and acknowledged before me a Justice of the peace for S Louis Township 14th Nov. 1808 Thos. F. Riddick

Know all men by these presents that we Pascal Guerret as principal and Pierre Guerret as surety are held and firmly bound to the United States of America to the sum of One hundred dollars each to which payment well and truly to be made we and each of us bind ourselves our heirs &c. On condition following that whereas it is alledged that the above bound Pascal Guerret has broken the peace by assaulting and beating Saml. Solomon. Now therefore if the said Pascal shall appear at our next Court of Quarter Sessions to be holden for the District of S Louis on the first Monday of March next and then and there be ready to answer unto what may be objected against him and shall not depart the court without leave then the above obligation to be void order to remain in full force and virtue.

Pascal Guerret his mark
Pierre Guerret his mark

S Louis 17 Nov. 1808

Signed and acknowledged before me a Justice of the peace for St. Louis Township District of S Louis the 17 November 1808

Thos. F. Riddick

293. SAMUEL D. SOLOMON TO
GENERAL WILLIAM CLARK,¹⁷⁰ 1813¹⁷¹

St. Louis February 8th, 1813

Dear Sir

I would have written to you sooner, and my reason for not doing it was for want of such news that could be depended on, expected by, Blondeau,¹⁷² he arrived yesterday he went no further than the Ioway river stoped at Fort Madison were all was well: Mr. Blondeau says that the British have landed at Chicagou, and that they are collecting all the Indians to make a desent on this place in the spring: Dixon¹⁷³ at green Bay also assembling the Puants and Follavoine for the same purpose, ten lodges of Sacks nearly one hundred have also joined our enemies. Part of the Sioux have excepted the British wampum and are preparing, Quasquamis Brothers has been killed by the rangers, being found in side of the lines, several others have been seen, nothing doing here for the Defence of this place, the winter has been very severe indeed, the Missouri and Mississippi have been frozen over, nothing more worth your attention, except that Major Wilson and Jas. Kernerly [Kennerly] are well. Colonel Kibby of St. Charles is dead.

I remain Sir your most obedient humble Servant

Saml. D. Solomon

Genl. William Clark

Fincastle: Virginia

294. PETITION FROM
THE TOWN OF CARONDELETT, 1821¹⁷⁴

To the Honorable County Court of the County of St. Louis begun and holden at the town of S. Louis within and for the County of S. Louis January 15th 1821.

The Subscribers free holders and inhabitants of the town of Carondelett in the County aforesaid

Humbly sheweth that they have no peace officer in said town and are daily in want of a justice of the peace they being exposed to

the rude insults of boat men and other malicious persons passing through said town. They also meet with considerable inconvenience by going at a distance to seek redress for rongs [sic] which aught to bring the Culprits to immediate punishment by securing them from flying in the face of the law. Your petitioners therefore having full confidence in the following persons, Saml Solomon & Paul Robert now citizens of our town pray that you would appoint a justice of the peace in and over the same and as in duty bound they will ever pray.

[33 signatures follow this petition]

CLVI

Jews on the Southern Frontier,

1790-1804

Even before the Louisiana Purchase (1803), by which the United States acquired the vast and fertile territories of the deep south, there were Jewish merchants and traders who had established themselves in that frontier region. The documents collected below tell something of the story of two of these men, Benjamin Monsanto,¹⁷⁵ at Natchez, Mississippi, trading in real estate and negro slaves, and Abraham Mordecai,¹⁷⁶ who was in the Indian trade in Alabama. A number of fanciful legends have grown up about Mordecai's loss of his left ear. It is in connection with this event that Indian Agency records describe Mordecai as a prosperous merchant of Hogtown, and certainly the payment of a debt to the United States Agency by the transfer of 70 head of cattle would indicate that even in 1798 Mordecai was by no means a poor man.

295. CONTRACT FOR SALE OF A SLAVE, 1790¹⁷⁷

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Benjamin Monsanto do really and effectually sell to Henry Manadu a negro wench named "Judy," aged Eighteen years, native of Guinea, for the sum of four hundred and fifty Dollars, in Specia, payable as follows: two hundred Dollars in all the month of January in the year one thousand Seven hundred and ninety one; and paying interest at the rate of ten per cent for the remaining two hundred and fifty Dollars until paid; said negro wench being and remaining mortgaged until final payment shall have been made; wherewith I acknowledge to be fully satisfied and content, hereby renouncing the plea of non numerata pecunia, *fraud*, or others in the case Whatsoever; granting formal receipt for the same. For which said consideration I do hereby resign all right, title, possession and claim,

in and to the said Slave, all of which I transfer and convey to the Said Purchaser and his assigns, to be, as his own, held and enjoyed, and when fully paid for, Sold, exchanged, or otherwise alienated at pleasure in virtue of these presents granted in his favor in token of real delivery, without other proof of property being required, from which he is hereby released, binding myself to maintain the validity of this present sale in full form and right in favor of the Purchaser aforesaid, and granting authority to the Justices of his Majesty to compel me to the performance of the same as if Judgmt. had already been given therein, renouncing all laws, rights, and privileges in my favor whatsoever. And I the said Henry Manadu being present, do hereby accept this Instrument in my favor, receiving said negro Wench as purchased in the form and for the consideration therein mentioned and contained, wherewith I am fully satisfied and content, hereby renouncing the plea of non numerato pecunia, *fraud*, or other considerations in the case Whatsoever; granting formal receipt for the same. Done and executed, in testimony thereof, at the Post of Natchez, this nineteenth day of the month of February in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety. I Don Carlos De Grand Pre¹⁷⁸ Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Armies, and Civil and Military Commandant of the Post and District of Natchez, in the absence of the Governor, Certify that the Parties have acknowledged and signed the foregoing with Don Antonia Soler and Jose Sainz,

Witnesses present.

Antonia Soler, Jose Sainz.

Benjamin Monsanto, H. Manadue.

Carlos De Grand Pre.

296. CONTRACT FOR SALE OF LAND, 1791¹⁷⁹

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Benjamin Monsanto, of this District Merchant, do really and effectually sell to Don Louis Faure, Surgeon of the King's Hospital, a lot of Ground at the landing of this Place, bounded on one side by the River Mississippi, on another side by the street and on the other side by ground of George Fitzgerald,¹⁸⁰ containing one hundred and two feet English in front, and fifty two feet in depth on which are erected a Dwelling House, Store, and two other buildings, for which I have received payment in a negro, named "Nat;" to my full

satisfaction, hereby renouncing the plea of non numerato pecunia, *fraud* or others in the case Whatsoever. For which said consideration I do hereby resign all right, title, possession, and claim, in and to the said lot of Ground all of which I transfer and convey to the said purchaser and his assigns to be as his own held and enjoyed, sold, exchanged, or otherwise alienated at pleasure, in virtue of these presents granted in his favor in token of real delivery, without other proof of property being required, from which he is hereby released, binding myself to maintain the validity of this present Sale in full form and right in favor of the purchaser aforesaid when need may be and granting authority to the Justices of his Majesty to compel me to the performance of the same as if Judgment had already been given therein, renouncing all laws, rights, and privileges in my favor whatsoever. And I the said Purchaser being present, do hereby accept this Instrument in my favor, receiving the said lot as purchased in the form and for the price therein mentioned, wherewith I am fully satisfied and content, hereby renouncing the laws respecting delivery, things not seen nor received, fraud, or other exceptions in the case whatsoever: granting formal receipt for the same. Done and executed in testimony thereof, at the Post of Natchez, this twenty fourth day of the month of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety one. I Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos,¹⁸¹ Colonel of the Royal Armies and Civil and Military Governor of the said Post and District certify that the Parties have acknowledged and signed the foregoing, with Don Louis Salanda, and Don Joseph Sainz, Witnesses present: Benjn Monsanto, Louis Faure, Joseph Sainz, Louis Salanda

At the time of signing the foregoing sale it was agreed between the Parties that Don Louis Faure is bound to defend the said sale in case the negro shall be claimed by any other Person. Manuel Guyoso De Lemos

297. MORTGAGE, 1792¹⁸²

Be it known that I Benjamin Monsanto, of the City of New Orleans, have received from David Williams of the same place, the sum of one thousand silver Dollars in hand paid, being money lent without premium or interest, the receipt whereof I do hereby

acknowledge to my full satisfaction, renouncing the laws respecting delivery, the exception of non numerata pecunia, fraud, or others in the case, granting formal receipt for the same; in pursuance whereof I do hereby acknowledge to be indebted in the said sum, and promise to pay the sum to the said David Williams, or to his assigns in all the month of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety three, on the oath or simple declaration of the Party without other proof being required from which he is hereby released; and for further security of the said payment of one thousand silver Dollars, I do hereby specially mortgage three slaves to me belonging, namely Eugene and Louis, aged twenty four years each, the first named of the Senegal nation and the second of the Congo nation; and a Negro Woman named Adelaide, aged twenty eight years, also of the Congo nation; which said slaves I warrant free from mortgage or other incumbrance, as I have made appear by certificate from the Recorder of mortgages; and which said slaves I promise and engage shall not be sold nor otherwise alienated during the term of this obligation, or if made the same to be void and of no effect; binding my person and estates present and to come warranting and defending the same, confessing Judgment therein and renouncing all laws in my favor or otherwise. And I the said David Williams being present, do accept this Instrument in my favor, to serve when need may be. Done and executed, in testimony thereof, in the said City of New Orleans, on this seventeenth day of June in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety two. I the undersigned Notary Public certify that the Parties, to me well known, have signed the foregoing in presence of Don Antonio Rodriguez,¹⁸³ Don Manuel Monroy and Francisco de Sales Badillo, Witnesses. Benjamin Monsanto. David Williams.

Before me, Carlos Ximenes, Notary Public. A true copy of the original, to which I refer Given by request of the Party, at New-Orleans, on this twenty ninth day of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety five Carlos Ximenes.

The foregoing is a true Copy of the original obligation presented to me by the Party and transmitted to the Capital annexed to the proceedings instituted by Don Manuel Monsanto against the Widow of Don Benjamin Monsanto: Which I certify at Natchez on this

twenty second day of July in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety Six.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

298. SALE OF A SLAVE, 1794¹⁸⁴

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Benjamin Monsanto do really and effectually sell to Franco Candel, Military Store keeper of this Post of Natchez, a negro woman named "Babet" aged thirty years not warranted in any manner, for the sum of three hundred and twenty five Mexican milled Dollars, in hand paid to my full satisfaction: hereby renouncing the plea of non numerata pecunia, *fraud* or other exceptions in the case whatsoever: granting formal receipt for the same. For which said consideration I do hereby resign all right, title, possession and claim, in and to the said negro woman, all of which I transfer and convey to the said purchaser and his assigns, to be as his own held and enjoyed, sold, exchanged, or otherwise alienated at pleasure, in virtue of these presents granted in his favor, in token of real delivery without other proof of property being required, from which he is hereby released, binding myself to maintain the validity of this present sale in full form and right in favor of the purchaser aforesaid when need may be: and granting authority to the Justices of his Majesty to compel me to the performance of the same as if Judgment had already been given therein: renouncing all laws, rights, and privileges, in my favor whatsoever. And I the said Purchaser being present, do hereby accept this Instrument in my favor, receiving the said negro woman as purchased in the form and for the price therein mentioned, wherewith I am fully satisfied and content, hereby renouncing the laws respecting delivery, things not seen nor received, fraud, or other exceptions in the case whatsoever: granting formal receipt for the same. Done and executed, in testimony, thereof, at the Post of Natchez, this nineteenth day of the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety four. I Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos Colonel of the Royal Armies and Civil and Military Governor of the said Post and District, Certify that the Parties, to me well known, have signed the foregoing with Don Estevan Minor,¹⁸⁵ Captain of the Royal

Armies, and Antonio Soler, Captain of the Royal Artillery, Witnesses present. Benjamin Monsanto, Estevan Minor, Antonio Soler, Franco Candel

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

299. SETTLEMENT OF DEBT, 1798¹⁸⁶

Tucabaches. October 28th 1798

I do deliver unto Mikel Ellet¹⁸⁷ Seventy Head of Cattell for to discharge my—det with the united States factory Wich is Just due them wich this day Setteled before Alexnd Cornell¹⁸⁸

As witness my hand

Abram M. Mordecai

Witness Ellexander his Mark A Cornel Deputy Agent

300. CREEK AGENCY, 1804¹⁸⁹

It is hereby certified that Abraham M. Mordecai of this Agency was beaten and had his left ear cut off by a lawless bandittee of the town of Coosada in this Agency.

Benjamin Hawkins,¹⁹⁰

Agent for I.A.

D. W. Cumbther¹⁹¹

David Adams¹⁹²

David Adams, Esq., acknowledged his having subscribed to the above certificate 5th Dec. 1804, before me. B. Whitaker, J.P.¹⁹³

Georgia Secretary's Office 5th Dec., 1804.

Examined and recorded in Book D. 3, Pa. 237.

H. A. Marbury,¹⁹⁴ Secretary

Recorded July 15th, 1842.

Simeon Goolsby,¹⁹⁵ Clerk,

By W. Haydon, D.C.

CLVII

New Orleans Acquires a Synagogue and Jewish Cemetery, 1828-1830

The growing importance of the mid-south and of New Orleans as a great port city on the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi River was reflected in the growth of a Jewish community in that city. Jacob Solomon Solis¹⁹⁶ of New York, who was probably a merchant in the North-South trade of the period, energetically devoted himself to the organization of this synagogue. The deed for acquisition of cemetery property by the synagogue includes information on its founding and the names of others who worked with Solis to that end. Solis's early death was mourned deeply by the synagogue he had done so much to form, as the obituary and resolutions of the Trustees included in the secretary's "consolatory letter" to Mrs. Solis show.

301. DEED FOR CEMETERY PROPERTY, 1828¹⁹⁷

Be it known that this day before me Carlile Pollock¹⁹⁸ a notary Public in and for this city of New Orleans duly commissioned and sworn personally came and appeared Morris Jacobs¹⁹⁹ of this city who declared that for and in consideration of the sum of Three Hundred and sixty one dollars and Twenty four cents When in hand paid the receipt whereof he hereby acknowledges he does by these presents grant bargain and sell unto the Israelite Congregation of this city called the Shanareichesset,²⁰⁰ founded A.M. 5828 Five thousand eight Hundred & Twenty eight [sic] by Jacob Solomon Solis, and incorporated by an act of the Legislature of this State passed the Twenty fifth day of March last past. The said Congregation herein represented by Morris Jacobs and Aaron

Daniels ²⁰¹ Senior Wardens, of said Congregation and Abraham Plotz ²⁰² Asher Philips ²⁰³ and Abraham Green ²⁰⁴ Junior wardens of the same for the time being present and accepting for and in the name and behalf thereof. All that lot or parcel of ground situate in the rear of the suburb Lafayette in the parish of Jefferson in this State designated as number 17. Seventeen on the Original plot made by Joseph Pilie ²⁰⁵ city surveyor on the Sixth of February last past and duly deposited in my Office for recourse, said lot or peice of ground measuring three Hundred and forty eight feet six inches front on Jackson street, and extending in depth to lands belonging to Madame Sevandais, on the line of which it measures Three Hundred and forty nine feet three inches, bounded above by lot number Sixteen on the line of which it measures Four Hundred and twenty four feet four inches and nine lines and on the lower side by Lot number Twenty, on the line of which it measures three hundred and thirty nine feet three inches and seven lines. With all the improvements thereon and all the rights privileges and advantages thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. which lot being free from all incumbrances as appears by the certificate of the Keeper of mortgages for the parish of Jefferson dated this day and hereunto annexed, is computed according to Finch measure, and is the same when the present seller acquired of Charles Harrod & Francis Barber Ogden ²⁰⁶ by act passed before me notary the thirteenth day of March last past To have and to Hold said lot or peice of Ground and appurtenances unto said Congregation forever; and said seller for himself and his heirs the said lot of ground and appurtenances unto said purchasing congregation shall and will forever warrant and defend against all persons lawfully claiming whomsoever. Done and passed at New Orleans this Twenty sixth of [April] eighteen Hundred and Twenty eight in presence of William Lake ²⁰⁷ and William Boswell ²⁰⁸ witnesses who have signed their names with said parties and me notary: Asser Philips, Morris Jacobs, William Lake, Aaron Daniel, William Boswell, A Plotz, Carlile Pollock, A. Green

302. LETTER OF CONDOLENCE
AND RESOLUTION, 1830²⁰⁹

New Orleans Feb 7 1830

Mrs Solis ²¹⁰

Madam

The castrophe [sic] which has Befellen [sic] you and your family in the death of your beloved Spouse was also lamentable to the Isrealite [sic] Congregation of this city that as soon as the sad tidings came to this place the Board of Trustees held a meeting on account of the Death of their Beloved Brother Member and first founder *Jacob S Solis* and an unanimous Vote immediately past to shew their regret that an Obituary Notice shall be published in two News papers of this city with the following resolutions to shew their respect and esteem they have for the Deseased [sic] and his respectable family and may the Supreme ruler of the universe guard and protect you and your lovely orphans is the sincere wishes of the Society

Aaron Solomon (S.P)

for and in behalf of the Society

Obituary

The Lord giveth and the Lord Taketh.

Died at Mount Pleasant New York on the 29th December last *Jacob S. Solis Esqr.* aged 49 years a native of London and for the last 25 years a respectable citizen of the U.S. he leaves a widow and seven small children to lement his death and several friends to regret his loss he was a brother to all men a Farther [sic] to the Orphans and an aid to the poor as Assistant to the sick and a companion to the afflicted the Society at large has lost one of its best supports it has pleased the Lord to take him to his bosom where his soul will rest in peace everlasting

At a stated meeting of the Trustees of the Isrealite institution of this city assemble'd according to notice the following resolutions were unanimously adopted

1st resolved That in consequence of the Death of our much lemented felow member *Jacob S. Solis* and in consideration of his

many virtues and the effectual service rendered to this institution on its formation The Officers ware crape on their left arm for the space of thirty days from the date of this meeting.

2nd. that the secretary of this institution do write a consolatory letter to the widow and orphans of the late Jacob S. Solis

3rd. Resolved that the above resolutions be published in two papers of this city

By order of the Board

A Solomon

New Orleans

Feb 7th 1830

CLVIII

The German Jews in
an Older Jewish Settlement,
1830-1839

As early as 1790, there were Jews in Baltimore, Maryland. The Ettings and the Cohens, who began the agitation that ultimately led to the passage of the "Jew Bill,"²¹¹ undoubtedly held some sort of private services of worship, but they founded no synagogue and built no Jewish community.²¹² The passage of the "Jew Bill," with the publicity that the contest had received in Europe, added to the importance of Baltimore as a port of entry to the United States, made of this city one of the havens that sheltered the newer immigrants who entered the country in the 1820s and even more in the 1830s. As a direct result of this newer immigration, the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Nidche Israel was incorporated in 1830, following the customs of Ashkenazic Jewry in its worship.²¹³ By 1837 the new congregation hoped to build a synagogue and adjunct buildings, as the appeal to Congregation Mikveh Israel, reprinted below, attests.

The rapid development of the Jewish community in Baltimore is brought into sharp focus by the incorporation, in 1839, of the German Hebrew Charity Society. Of the founders of this society not one had been named among the founders of the congregation less than a decade earlier. In these few years, a whole new group of leaders, all, by their names, clearly of German origin, had sprung into prominence.

303. A CONGREGATION IN
BALTIMORE, 1830²¹⁴

An Act to incorporate the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in the city of Baltimore

Whereas the scattered Israelites of the City of Baltimore have by their petition to this General Assembly prayed that they may be incorporated with powers necessary for the building of a synagogue, wherein they may worship God according to the rights and customs of their fathers to regulate their temporal concerns, and to take hold enjoy and convey property sufficient to carry into effect the object of their incorporation. Therefore

Sect. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That John M. Dyer,²¹⁵ Moses Miller, Lewis Silver,²¹⁶ Levy Benjamin²¹⁷ and Joseph Osterman of the said Congregation and their successors chosen in the manner hereinafter directed, shall be, and they are hereby Constituted and erected into a body Corporate by the name and style of the [" Electors of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation" and by the same name and style, shall have continued and perpetual succession, and be able and Capable in law of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered, in any Court of law or Equity, in this state and to make and have a common seal and the same to alter at their pleasure and to purchase hold and enjoy any estate real personal or mixed in the same manner as other religious societies are authorised to acquire hold and enjoy such estate by the Constitution and laws of this state. Provided That such estate shall not exceed in value Ten Thousand Dollars.

Sec. 2. And be it enacted that the male members of the said Congregation of the age of Twenty One years, or over may and shall meet on the first Monday in October in each and every year from and after the passage of this act or within Twenty days thereafter at the synagogue of said Congregation, or such other convenient place in the City of Baltimore, as the electors aforesaid shall designate and appoint, and then and there elect five persons, members of the said Congregation to be electors thereof, until another election be held in pursuance of this Act.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted That the electors now appointed or who may hereafter be elected or a majority of them shall and may meet together from time to time and as often as they may Judge expedient to transact and manage the business of said society and superintend and protect the property thereof and make such by-laws and regulations for the good Government and orderly management of their proceedings and temporal Concerns, as to them may seem expedient and necessary the same not being contrary to the rights usages and discipline of the said synagogue or to the laws and Constitution of this State or of the United States.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted That all property real personal and mixed of said Congregation and vested in any person or persons for their use shall be and the same is hereby vested for the use of said Congregation in the electors appointed by this act and their successors forever.

Thomas King Carroll ²¹⁸

By the House of Delegates March 1st 1830 This Engrossed Bill the original of which passed this House on the 25th day of Feby 1830 was this day read and assented to By order

Gideon Pearce Clk

By the Senate March 1st 1830 This Engrossed Bill the original of which passed this House on the 23 day of Feby 1830 was this day read and assented to By order

Louis Gassaway Clk

304. FUND RAISING, 1837 ²¹⁹

Baltimore, July 24th 1837. 5597

To the Parnass and members of the Kaal Kodoshe Mickway [Israel] in Philadelphia
Gentlemen,

We the undersigned are a committee appointed by the congregation Kaal Kodosh Nierdha Israel of the city of Baltimore to lay before you a brief statement of the affairs of our congregation, and to solicit your aid officially or individually in defraying the expenses of our new place of worship. This congregation has been established for several years, and has always rented a room for

the purpose of dedicating their prayers to Almighty God; such has been the increase of the Israelites in this City, that it has been absolutely necessary to purchase a building in a convenient part of the City for the better accommodation of the same. The building which we have purchased is now finished, and has attached a Kaal room, a Mickway which is used by the Congregation, and also a comfortable dwelling, for the Shamas or Reader, the whole of which we hope will be an honor to our Holy Religion, and an ornament to our city.

The Jews of this city are mostly emigrants and are now enjoying Freedom and comfort under the laws of the United States, their means are very limited, and wishing their place of worship paid for and the congregation free of debt, they have resolved to throw themselves upon the liberality and generosity of their brethren throughout Europe and America.

It is with this view worthy and respected Gentlemen that we now address you, soliciting such aid from your congregation as you may have it in your power to afford in the furtherance of our object.

Engaged in a common cause, belonging to the same religious family, worshippers of the same God, observers of the same forms and ordinances, who can we apply to for aid unless it be our brethren of the House of Israel.

Our application we feel certain will not be in vain, and any donation sent for this object to Mr. S. Eyting²²⁰ Parnass of K. K. Neidha Israel of the City of Baltimore will be thankfully acknowledged.

With our fervent prayers and best wishes for your congregation and the health and happiness of yourselves and families and the prosperity of our brethren throughout the world, we are Gentlemen.

Very Respectfully Your friends and Brethren

Lewis Silver
S. Eyting

305. A MUTUAL ASSISTANCE SOCIETY, 1839²²¹

An act to incorporate "The German Hebrew Charity Society"

Whereas Aaron Weglein,²²² Abram Engelhart,²²³ Emanuel Weinmann, Aaron Herz,²²⁴ Bernhardt Himmelreich,²²⁵ Judah Roswald,²²⁶

Jonas Rosenhaupt,²²⁷ Moses Cohen,²²⁸ Tobias Herz,²²⁹ and others have formed themselves into a society for the laudable purpose of affording relief to each other and their respective families in the event of sickness, distress and death; and have prayed for an act of incorporation, that they may the better execute their intentions and the Legislature being desirous of promoting such useful institutions Therefore

Sec 1st Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That Aaron Weglein, Abram Engelhart, Emanuel Weinmann, Aaron Herz, Bernhardt Himmelreich, Judah Roswald, Jonas Rosenhaupt, Moses Cohen, and Tobias Herz and others that now are, or may hereafter become members of the said Corporation hereby created or may be admitted into the said Corporation agreeably to the Constitution rules and by laws of the same and their successors are hereby declared to be one community corporation and body politic by the name Style and title of the "German Hebrew Charity Society,["]

Sec 2nd And be it enacted, That the affairs of said Society shall be managed and conducted by a President, Treasurer, Secretary, and a Standing Committee of five members, the whole to be elected annually on the first Monday of March in each and every year or in thirty days thereafter, in such manner as the said society Shall think proper to appoint

Sec 3rd And be it enacted, that the present members of said Society, and their Successors by their corporate name, shall and may have perpetual succession and may at all times hereafter be able and capable in law to purchase, take have and enjoy to them and their Successors in fee or less estate or estates, in lands, tenements, rents, annuities, bank Stock or other property whatever which by gift purchase or devise shall be given purchased or devised of or from or by any person or persons, bodies politic or Corporate, capable to make the same, and the same at their pleasure to alien sell, transfer or lease in such manner as they may Judge most Conducive to the Charitable uses of the said Society: provided Nevertheless that the said Corporation or body politic shall not at any one time, hold or possess property, real personal or mixed exceeding in value the sum of Twenty thousand dollars

Sec 4th And be it enacted, that the said Corporation, and their

Successors by the name aforesaid shall be hereafter able and capable in law to sue and be sued plead and be impleaded answer and be Answered unto, defend and be defended: in all or any Courts of Justice and before all or any Judges officers or persons whatsoever in all and Singular actions, matters and demands whatsoever, and that all legal process that may be hereafter instituted by the said Corporation shall be in the name of the said Corporation and that all process that may be hereafter instituted against the said society shall be Served on the President or one of the Standing Committee

Sec 5th And be it enacted that it shall and may be lawful for the said Corporation and their Successors hereafter, to have a common seal for their use, and of the same at their will and pleasure, to change, alter and make anew from time to time, as they shall think best, and shall in general have and exercise all Such rights franchises and privileges as are by law incident and necessary to Corporations of this Kind: and which may be necessary to the Corporation herein and hereby created, to enable them duly and fully in the law to execute all things touching and concerning the design and intent of their said Corporation for the benevolent Succour, relief and good order of its members, and the widows and orphans of deceased members of Said Society: agreeably to the Constitution and such rules and by laws as may be established by the said Society.

Sec 6th And be it enacted, that no member of the said Society Shall in his individual capacity be answerable for any losses, deficiencies or failures of the joint fund or debts of the Said Society, or for any more or larger Sum or Sums of Money whatsoever, than the Current amount by him payable into the Common fund of the Society.

Sec 7th And be it enacted, That, the Said Corporation and their Successors may meet together on the first monday in September, December, March & June in each and every year, at Some convenient place in the City of Baltimore, and then and there enact such by-laws as may be necessary for assuring and Carrying into effect the benevolent purpose of, this act, provided such by-laws rules and regulations be not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States or of the State of Maryland,

Sec 8th And be it enacted, that the members of this Society or Corporation may meet together on the first monday of March next, or within thirty days thereafter, and on the same day annually thereafter, and then and there elect the officers of said Corporation, and in case any of the said officers so elected shall die, during the time for which they were elected, the said vacancy shall be filled by an election to be held at the next quarterly meeting of the said Corporation which may happen thereafter,

Sec 9th And be it enacted, That the said Corporation shall not be allowed to issue any note check or certificate of any Kind or Character whatever for Circulation

Sec 10th And be it enacted that the present officers of this Society shall continue to act in the discharge of the duties of their respective offices until an election shall be held under the provisions of this act,

Sec 11th And be it enacted, that the Legislature reserves the right at all times to modify or repeal this act,

By the House of Delegates March 8th 1839. This Engrossed bill the Original of which passed this House on the 22d February 1839 was this day read and assented to Wm Grason²³⁰ By order

Geo G. Brewer Clk

By the Senate March 8th 1839 This Engrossed Bill the Original of which passed the Senate on the 26th day of February 1839 was this day read and assented to By order Jos. H. [Anderson (?)]

CLIX

A German-Jewish Community in the Midwest, 1829-1830

The flow of life in the United States in the nineteenth century was ever westward, through the mountain gaps and passes, along the course of the river valleys. And as the nation moved in its westward course, Jews moved westward too. First there were isolated individuals such as those of whom report has already been made.²³¹ Then, as towns formed at strategically located spots, there might be enough Jews to form a nucleus of a community, and ultimately to charter a congregation and erect a synagogue.

This is, in brief, the story of the beginnings of the Jewish community of Cincinnati, which was to become and remain to our own day a center of Jewish learning in the New World. In 1821, there were fewer than ten known Jews, and these few probably from England, in Cincinnati. In 1824, there were enough Jews to organize the first congregation beyond the Alleghenies. Jacob Solis, the New York merchant who was active in founding the congregation in New Orleans,²³² helped the group in Cincinnati. The congregation was incorporated by act of the Legislature of Ohio in 1830 and by 1836 the community had grown large enough and was sufficiently well-rooted in the Midwest to build its first synagogue, "according to the form and mode of worship of the Polish and German Jews."

306. PHINEAS MOSES²³³ TO
JACOB S. SOLIS, 1829²³⁴

Cincinnati Aug 7th 1829

Jacob S. Solis Esqr.

I am deputed by a full meeting of this congregation to hand you a copy of the resolution passed on the 5th inst.

Resolved that a vote of thanks be given to Jacob S. Solis Esqr. for his liberal donation and his useful exertions in getting subscriptions from our Isrealite brethren of New Orleans in aiding us to erect a place of worship in Cincinnati

I am Dear Sir Yours Most Respectfully Phineas Moses. Sec.
[on reverse side of the above]

Jacob S. Solis Esqr.

Dear Sir

We the undersigned being a committee appointed by this congregation for the purpose of making collections to build a synagogue in this place, beg leave to appoint you (with their consent) a committee for that end in the city of New York, any thing you can do for us will be thankfully received by Dear Sir Yours Respectfully

D. I. Johnson²³⁵

Morris Moses²³⁶ Committee

307. INCORPORATION OF
CINCINNATI CONGREGATION, 1830²³⁷

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio*, That Morris Symonds,²³⁸ Joseph Jonas,²³⁹ Morris Moses, David J. Johnson, Solomon Moses,²⁴⁰ Joseph Symonds,²⁴¹ Phineas Moses, Abraham Jonas,²⁴² Samuel Jonas,²⁴³ Samuel Jacob De Young,²⁴⁴ Henry Hyman, Simon Block,²⁴⁵ David Lewis²⁴⁶ Simon Symonds,²⁴⁷ Barnard Le Jeune,²⁴⁸ Lewis Levin²⁴⁹ and Benjamin Silvers,²⁵⁰ and all other Israelites residing either temporarily or permanently in the city of Cincinnati, who may apply,

Corporation
created

Style thereof

Their powers
and privileges

and be accepted into this Society, and their successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, under the name and title of "Kal a Kodesh Beneh Isroel," (Holy Congregation of Children of Israel), "according to the form and mode of worship of the Polish and German Jews in Cincinnati;" and under this title and denomination shall enjoy the right of perpetual succession, and shall be capable in law of owning, purchasing, receiving, accepting and holding, possessing and enjoying for themselves and their successors, all immovables and effects, whatsoever, not exceeding twenty-five thousand dollars, by means of any act, contract, deed, purchase or transaction whatever; to receive all donations or cessions, whether inter vivos or mortis causa; to accept or reject any legacies or successions; to sue or be sued, summon or be summoned, plead or be impleaded, answer or be answered unto, in all suits and actions; and to enact and put in execution any by-laws, resolutions and regulations, for the better government of said Society, not contrary to the laws of this State, or of the United States, and may also have and use a common seal, and the same to break, alter or renew at pleasure.

Officers

Sec. 2. That said congregation shall be represented by one Parnass (Warden senior), and two Gabaim (Wardens junior), who shall continue in office until their successors are chosen: and that no one shall be elected or appointed, who shall not have attained the age of twenty three years, and be a permanent resident of the said city of Cincinnati; and that said representatives shall have full power to appoint a Shomas, (Keeper), who shall continue in office so long as they shall deem proper: *Provided*, That no person shall be elected to the same office more than two years in succession.

Proviso

Treasurer &c.
to give bond

Sec. 3. That said Congregation shall elect a Treasurer and Secretary, who shall give such security for

the faithful performance of their duty, as the said Congregation shall deem proper to demand.

Sec. 4. That elections for all the above named officers shall take place every year, on any day of September previous to the eighth; and that all votes shall be given by ballot, in a general meeting called for that purpose by a written or printed notice, or by advertisement in one or more newspapers, in said city of Cincinnati, at least three days previous to said election.

Annual election

Sec. 5. That the members of said Congregation shall not, either separately or collectively, under any pretext whatever, sell or cede, alienate, lease or rent, any of the places consecrated to public worship. or to the burial of Israelites.

Disposition of property

Sec. 6. That in case an election shall not take place, on the day or time specified for that purpose, said corporation shall not be deemed dissolved on that account, and any three members of the said Congregation may call a meeting for said election.

Elections

Sec. 7. That the funds of said Congregation, shall not be employed in banking; but shall be especially and exclusively appropriated and employed in erecting and repairing Temples, or Synagogues, or for purchasing and enlarging ground for the same; in erecting or repairing the walls, fences, buildings of the Burial Grounds, or for purchasing or enlarging ground for the same; in relieving the unfortunate; in salaries to the Pastor, Reader, Keeper, and Shochet (Butcher); in establishing schools for the education of Israelites; and also for all necessary books, furniture and accommodations, calculated for the worship of said Congregation.

Banking prohibited

Disposition of funds

Sec. 8. That all elections by ballot or otherwise, shall be carried by a majority of the members present in session; and in case of their being equally divided, the presiding officer shall give the casting

Elections regulated

Proviso

vote: *Provided*, that any future Legislature may alter, amend or repeal this act.

Thomas L. Hamer,²⁵¹

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Robert Lucas,²⁵²

Speaker of the Senate.

January 8th, 1830

CLX

The Jew Isolated from His Fellows, 1796

We have traced the widening geographic horizons of the Jews in America from their European sources through various stages of adjustment to life in the United States, their settling down in old or new communities, their risk-taking on the frontier, their founding of congregations and benevolent societies. In the last documents of this Part, we shall see Jewish individuals in two different situations: first, isolated from Jewish contacts by geographic remoteness, and second, securely rooted in a widespread family.

The first of these documents is the will of Aaron Isaacs,²⁵³ who was probably the only Jewish householder in East Hampton, Long Island, in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The bequests show that, in his isolation, Aaron Isaacs had become quite affluent. There is exceptional consideration given to the female members of the family in making these bequests. It is to be noted that two of the daughters of Isaacs (we cannot tell how many of the sons) had married; both married non-Jews. One of these, Sarah, who married William Payne,²⁵⁴ was the mother of John Howard Payne,²⁵⁵ the author of "Home, Sweet Home."

308. WILL OF AARON ISAACS, 1798²⁵⁶

Know all men by these presents that I Aaron Isaacs of East Hampton in the County of Suffolk and State of New York Merchant do make and ordain this to be my last will and testament first after all my legal debts are paid I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary Isaacs²⁵⁷ and to her heirs and assigns forever all my estate both real and personal and mixed Item I give to my son Aaron Isaacs²⁵⁸ and his heirs and assigns forever Eleven hundred and twenty-five dollars it being the sum which

he owes me for money advanced him to purchase the house and lott on which he now lives and in consideration of this gift I order him to pay his mother Mary Isaacs the sum of Ten Dollars pr annum during her life and at her decease if my daughter Mary²⁵⁹ should survive her I order my said son Aaron to pay to my said Daughter Mary the sum of Fifty Dollars Item I give to my son Isaac Isaacs²⁶⁰ & to his heirs and assigns forever (after the Decease of his mother) my house and lott where I now dwell and in consideration of this gift I order him to support my daughter Mary during her life in a decent becoming manner and also to pay my daughter Ester²⁶¹ the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars which said Daughter I also give a residence in my said house during her unmarried state Item I give to my son Samuel Isaacs²⁶² and to his heirs and assigns forever (after the decease of his Mother) my Northwest plain Close my right in the commons of the Town of East Hampton my right in the mill known by the name of Robert Parsons Mill and my right in the wharf at Sag Harbour Item I give to my daughter Elisabeth Jones²⁶³ the sum of twenty five Dollars Item I give to my Daughter Sarah Payne²⁶⁴ the sum of twenty five dollars Item I give to my Daughter Ester two good feather beds and bedding and I also order my Executors to pay her one hundred and fifty dollars when collected from moneys due me from my son in law Mr. Willm Payne and in consequence of his paying this sum to give him a discharge in full of all demands that I have against him Item to my daughter Mary I give a good feather bed and bedding Item to my grand son Samuel Jones I give my silver watch as a token of my love to him and lastly I do hereby constitute and appoint my wife Mary Isaacs my friend Daniel Hedges²⁶⁵ my son Aaron Isaacs and my son Isaac Isaacs to be my Executors & Executrix Signed Sealed and acknowledged in presence of the witnesses present this Second day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight.

Aaron Isaacs (L.S.)

NB The word survive in the tenth line was interlined before the signing and sealing of these presents Test Nat Gardiner John Lyon Gardiner William Hunting

Proved Jan 25, 1799

CLXI

The Jew in a Rooted Family,

1812-1840

The selection below, covering the years from 1812 to 1840 in the life of Jacob Ezekiel,²⁶⁶ shows him as the American-born issue of a family that migrated from Holland to the United States shortly before his birth. The distribution of the family of Jacob Ezekiel in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Richmond accounts for the opportunity he had to visit in these different communities before settling down. His migration was never an uprooting. It is noteworthy, too, that he participated not only in Jewish life, but also in such general organizations as the Richmond Rifle Corps and the United Order of Ancient Druids.²⁶⁷ He had a secure place in the Jewish community, and out of this place it was not difficult for him to make a place in the larger world.

309. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JACOB EZEKIEL, 1812-1840²⁶⁸

Born on the 17th day of *Tamuz* A.M. 5572, corresponding with 28th of June, 1812, in Baker's court, a court then running northward on Race Street about 25 feet east of Sixth Street, in the City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania. My father, Ezekiel Jacob Ezekiel,²⁶⁹ my mother, Rebecca Ezekiel, with my father's brother, Tobias Ezekiel,²⁷⁰ emigrated to the United States from Amsterdam, Holland, and settled in Philadelphia, probably about the year 1810. My father left his mother (Rebecca) and brothers and sister in Amsterdam; his sister Sarah was married to Mordecai Cohen²⁷¹ and were living in the City of Philadelphia between the years 1825 and 1830. The family remaining in Amsterdam after my parents' migration to America assumed a different name. Israelites generally were known only by their given name at that time

(being generally Biblical names) that it became necessary in making a new registration to give each family a different name.

My grandfather was known by the name of Rabbi Jakob Schriber (or Jacob the writer). My grandfather on my mother's side, also lived in Philadelphia, though born in Holland. His name was Eleazar Israel,²⁷² In Hebrew, Rabbi Isaac Eleazar, and as Joseph Ha-Cohen (owing to severe spell of sickness as is customary with pious Israelites, my mother had her name changed to Hannah, and my grandfather to Isaac.)

My grandfather, Eleazar Israel, was a Hebrew scribe. A *sepher torah* written by him is deposited in the Synagogue of K. K. *Mickva Israel* in Philadelphia. He had two daughters and three sons. My dear mother, Rebecca, who through sickness her name was changed to Hannah, hence was called in Hebrew, Hannah Rebecca. A daughter, Rossetta, who married to Levie M. Goldsmit,²⁷³ the sons were named respectively Isaac E. Israel,²⁷⁴ Abraham E. Israel,²⁷⁵ and Michael E. Cohen.²⁷⁶ (my uncle, Michael E. Cohen, assumed the name of Cohen from the fact of the family being "cohanims" of the priesthood.)

My grandfather and his son, Isaac, died in Philadelphia about 1817. My mother had four children, viz. Martha,²⁷⁷ born in Utrecht, Holland, July 24th, 1809; myself, born June 28th, 1812, in Philadelphia; Adeline,²⁷⁸ May 10th, 1815, in Philadelphia; and Eleazar, in 1817, on Budd Street near Poplar Lane, died in infancy. My mother (rest her soul) died on the 24th day of *Tamuz*, 5578, corresponding with July 28th, 1818. After the death of my mother, sister Martha was adopted by our Uncle Abraham E. Israel, sister Adeline by Levie M. Goldsmit, and myself by Michael E. Cohen. He, being unmarried, boarded me at Mrs. Goody Phillips,²⁷⁹ also lived on Wood Street near John, then at her sister, Mrs. Esther Michael Hart,²⁸⁰ who lived on Vine Street, north side below 4th, also then removed to the east side of 4th, one door north of New St., where I lived from 1821-3.

Went to school to J. Irvine Hitchcock²⁸¹ and at a Mr. Nael's. Took Hebrew lessons from Jacob Bensadon,²⁸² who at that time was *Hazan* at the K. K. *Mickvae Israel*. He lived in the rear of the synagogue on Cherry above 3rd Street, north side, and I boarded with his family for some time. I was then placed as an

apprentice to Joseph Boston,²⁸³ No. 109 Race Street a few doors above 3rd, on the north side, to learn the dy[e]ing business. Mr. Boston was English by birth and a chemist, and manufactured, in imitation of European make, Reeve and Woodyers water colors, Clark's indelible ink, macassar oil, glue and court plaster, and numerous other articles. I consequently got an insight to the manufacture of these articles. Mr. Boston also opened an apothecary store on the east side of 3rd St. south of Race, in which he failed.

On the 9th day of November, 1825, my uncle bound me as an apprentice for the term of seven years to learn the bookbinding business to Robert DeSilver²⁸⁴ on the south side of Walnut Street, between 4th and 5th, on the south side, No. 110. During the whole of my apprenticeship I was permitted to abstain from work on the Jewish Sabbath and Holy days, quitting work on Friday, one hour before sunset, the same on the eve of Holy days. This arrangement was stipulated in my indenture, which can be found in my scrap book. I took my meals on Sabbath and festivals at my Uncle Abr'm E. Israel, who was *parnas* of the *K. K. Mickvae Israel*,²⁸⁵ and resided in rear of the synagogue on Cherry above 3rd St.

After my apprenticeship was completed, say during the year 1833, I worked with a Frenchman (Le Breton) who was in partnership with my Uncle Michael E. Cohen. At about this time a new fire hose company was formed by the name of the Moya-mensing Hose Company. I became a member and secretary of the company. Then during the latter part of 1833, I went to Baltimore and entered in a partnership with a Mr. Johnson in the bookbinding business, located on Pratt Street, west of Light Street. During my stay in Baltimore, I domiciled with a friend, Simon Eyten,²⁸⁶ who kept a pawn broker office and furniture store at the corner of Hanover and Pratt St. I was a member of Hebrew Benevolent Society, "Hebra Bikur Gholim Ugmelot Has-sadim",²⁸⁷ and went to Annapolis to have the same incorporated. At that time there were two synagogue,²⁸⁸ a small one in the rear of a building on High Street between Market and Gay St., on the lower side. A Mr. Calmus²⁸⁹ was sexton.

I had an uncle at that time living in Baltimore who kept a small store of 2nd hand clothing. Whilst in Baltimore, the Bank of Mary-

land failed, which nearly caused a panic. The Cohen & Bros.²⁹⁰ had a bank on Baltimore St., below Charles. A run was made on it, but they met all demands promptly.

In the month of April, 1834, my brother-in-law, Jacob A. Levy,²⁹¹ was in Baltimore, and I went with him to Richmond, Va., where he resided, and obtained a situation at Richard D. Sanxay (?) in the bookbinding business, and worked two weeks; then I engaged my time in my brother-in-law's store in the dry goods business on Main Street, opposite the Old Market. Was elected Secretary of the *Kaal Kadosh Beth Shalome* which office I held for about 30 years.

On the 10th of June, 1835, I entered into the land [bond?] of matrimony with Catherine Myers (nee DeCastro),²⁹² Rev. Abm. H. Cohen²⁹³ performed the marriage ceremony. My marriage contract are among my papers. I rented the house on 17th St., east side, the 2nd house above the alley opposite cage (or station house), and commenced the dry goods and clothing business on Whitsunday, 1835.

In the same year, I became a member of the Richmond Rifle Corps under Capt. Richardson, which soon after was changed to the Richmond Grenadiers, and James Lyons²⁹⁴ was elected captain. After a short lapse of time, it was again changed to the Richmond Grays under Capt. Ditrell for some time. I continued my membership until the Confederate war commenced.

In 1835, I was elected a member of Friendship Lodge of United Ancient Order of Druids, and was a charter member of Liberal Grove No. 2 of Druids. . . .

In 1836, I formed a partnership with my brother-in-law, Isaac Hyneman,²⁹⁵ in the dry goods business, under the firm of Ezekiel and Hyneman, occupied the house and store on Main, a few doors west of 17th St., opposite the Old Market. We continued business until about 1840.

Part Nine

American Jews and World Jewry

During the first thirty years of the half-century of Jewish life in America that we are considering, the few Jews of America seem not to have played an active part in world Jewish experience. Undoubtedly they made some small contribution to the support of the needy Jews of the Holy Land. Again, individual American Jews probably helped to bring members of their own families over to the New World. Furthermore, American Jewish news was a magnet to the Jews in Western Europe; they followed as well as they could what was happening to their brethren in America. Correspondence from immigrants to America was published where there was a newspaper available for its publication; where there was no such journal, we may surmise that letters to the old homeland were read and re-read, discussed and re-discussed, and the possibilities of emigration thoroughly canvassed. Finally, the small size and the comparative poverty of the newer Jewish settlements in the United States led to appeals from these communities to older Jewish groups for aid in establishing synagogues. Beyond this limited relationship, however, the Jews of America were too pre-occupied with establishing themselves in the new country to be able to spare much concern for their fellow-Jews.

The first stirrings of a broader concern are to be found in the years 1819 and 1820. Our documents show three practically simultaneous, and partially independent, occurrences of the suggestion that Jewish immigration to planned agricultural colonies in the United States should be stimulated and encouraged. In two of these cases, the suggestion was not entirely disinterested and may very well have been tied up with land promotion schemes; we know too little of the third case to determine whether it, too, had a commercial aspect. But we cannot wholly account for any of these schemes by its disingenuous side. The associative colony was part of the romantic *mystique* of the times; other sectarian

groups, such as the Shakers, Rappites, and Zoarites had already established, with some success, their "heavens on earth." The Ephratans had maintained a community life since about 1735. Although the best-known of the communities, such as the Owenite colony at New Harmony, Indiana, or the Transcendentalist community at Brook Farm in Massachusetts were still far in the future when Jewish colonies were suggested, there was sufficient precedent to justify the suggestion. We should, perhaps, not be far amiss if we attributed the wave of proposals to a combination of factors, including both American associative romanticism and an adapted form of Jewish Messianism, as well as the impulse to turn pennies into dollars by speculation in land, especially since these were depression years.

Mordecai M. Noah's Ararat scheme gains in intelligibility by being put into this sort of context. The plan was germinating in Noah's mind at least as early as 1819. Its execution was deferred for six years, during part of which, at least, Noah was working on an alternative plan. Ararat was splashier, more bizarre, than other proposals, but it was not unique. Noah undoubtedly hoped to gain financially by his projected community, and there was a clear element of proto-Zionism in his view. Thus far those who have commented on the scheme have been right. But other aspects of Noah's career reveal a strongly romantic bent, exemplified in the Ararat scheme especially, but also by Noah's view of the American Indians as survivors of the "lost" ten tribes. In addition, much of Noah's flamboyance must be attributed to his journalistic and political activities, and we must unquestionably see in Ararat an instrument in the building of Noah's political prestige. So, it is clear, this was not a simple scheme to be interpreted by a single principle, but the complex product of a complex personality expressing itself in terms of the spirit of its age.

If we allow the element of Zionism a place in this complex, we must do so with the realization that Noah was not unique in his time in envisioning some sort of political restoration of the Jews, Isaac Leeser, too, is on record as sharing this vision, and in the absence of explicit sources we can only guess that where there were two such advocates there were more. However slight the extent of this early Zionism in America, it is clear from what Leeser said that

the problem of "dual allegiance," which was to prove a difficult one in the later history of American Zionism, arose long before there was a formal Zionist movement. In any event, it is likely that in our period the charitable motive predominated over the political. The advocates of restoration to Zion were thinking not of themselves so much as of the Jews in lands of persecution. Palestine was one more Ararat, one more place of refuge for the oppressed and the needy. Collectors for Palestine relief or for assistance in building synagogues occasionally reached the United States and were well-treated. The time had not yet arrived for impatience with the apparent readiness of Palestinian Jews to live as perpetual pensioners on their brethren throughout the world.

The possibility of organizing the American Jewish community to serve the needs of world Jewry was raised in passing by Judah Zuntz in discussing colonization in 1820. But it was not until 1840, when the impact of the Damascus Affair was reflected in the United States, that any real steps toward community organization were taken. The resurgence in various parts of Europe and the Near East of the ancient ritual murder libel was one of the phenomena of the relations of Jews and non-Jews in the nineteenth century. The Damascus incident was the most dramatic case in the first half of the century, and the fifteen or more other similar instances are frequently overlooked. The stress on the Damascus case may be the result of the interest that the European nations took in it. The other recurrences were all in Europe, and diplomatic courtesy precluded much intervention. Damascus was part of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, and at this time the Turkish Empire was beginning to disintegrate. Under these conditions, the European powers kept very closely in touch with every incident in that region and tried to turn it to their advantage. A second reason for the looming importance of the Damascus affair was that in the countries of Western Europe and America there was a significant emancipated Jewish population, in a position to put pressure on their governments to intervene. Again, we must realize that, even a few years earlier, news of the Damascus Affair would not have reached America in time for a protest to be effective; the improvement in speed of communication alone must be regarded as a reason for the mobilization of American Jews in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond and

Charleston to combat, for the first time in New World Jewish history, the brutal reality of oppression, persecution and torture overseas. With these protest meetings, it can be said, the maturity of American Jewry begins. The 15,000 American Jews of that year roused to action slowly; but in action they discovered their power, and this is a lesson that, in emergencies, at least, the Jews of America have never forgotten.

CLXII

Mr. W. D. Robinson's¹

Helping Hand, 1819

Christian projects for Jewish colonies and settlements were, as we have seen,² generally connected with the missionary enterprise. W. D. Robinson's "Plan for Establishing a Jewish Settlement in the United States" is remarkable in that it contains not even the faintest hint of missionary purpose. The tone of the plan oscillates between philanthropic zeal and economic advantage. In the economic theory of the early nineteenth century these two motivations were not regarded as in any way contradictory. Mr. Robinson's *Memoir*, reads, in part, like a prospectus for a land speculation, emphasizing the rapidity with which western lands in the United States have greatly increased in value. For the rest, it reads like an appeal to benevolence and humanitarianism. After all, what can be better than to do good to one's fellow men, unless it is to do that good and profit by it?

A few months before Robinson's plan was circulated in America, Samuel Myers³ of Richmond had arrived, apparently independently, at a similar proposal which he communicated in writing to some of his friends and other prominent American Jews. No copy of Myers's letter has been found; but the papers of the Myers family include several replies. One of these, from Myers's fellow-Richmondite, Joseph Marx,⁴ expresses fears that an exclusively Jewish settlement would tend to reawaken prejudice against the Jews, whereas if the Jews remained distributed through the population, Jewish equality might be retained and even augmented.

Myers must have argued that an exclusively Jewish settlement would tend to preserve the Jewish religion, for Marx found it desirable to demonstrate that Judaism could be preserved without the need of founding a colony. He claimed that what was necessary was, particularly, the translation into English of Hebrew writers so

that Judaism might be widely understood, and, as a result, widely accepted.

310. PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A
JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN
THE UNITED STATES, 1819⁵

1. An association of wealthy and respectable Jews are to subscribe a fund, to as large an amount as may be practicable, for the purpose of purchasing a tract of land in the United States, adequate to the object in view.

2. This tract of land I recommend to be purchased in the Upper Mississippi and Missouri territory, in a climate particularly well adapted for European constitutions, and where the fertility of soil is equal, if not superior, to any in North America. There are now for private sale, several large tracts contained in these two sections, and embracing several millions of acres, adjacent to the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, two of the most important navigable streams in the northern divisions of America, and destined, at no very remote period, to become the most populous and flourishing regions in the new world.

3. After the purchase of the necessary lands is effected by the company, they will then make known, through the medium of the chief papers in Europe, the most liberal conditions to all Jews desirous of emigrating to the settlement in question; offering in the first instance to each, a certain number of acres, on a credit of a specific number of years, giving particular encouragement to all such as take out their families; and, in the second place, pledging to convey them from Europe free of expense, to New Orleans, and from thence, in steam boats, to their final destination. Agricultural implements of all descriptions are further to be provided by the company, and resold to the settlers on a credit, at a moderate profit; and all emigrants and settlers are to be subject to such rules and regulations as the company may determine on for the benefit and general interests of the settlement.

4. The government of the United States will feel every disposition to promote the views and prosperity of such a settlement, not only because it is conformable to the policy of their government, but

also in strict accord with the interests and welfare of the country at large. In a more special manner will it excite the attention of the American government, on the principle of the object exhibiting a great example of philanthropy, in thus affording an asylum to an unfortunate and oppressed portion of the human race; nor do I entertain the least doubt, in case the company wishes to buy the public lands belonging to the United States, the government will readily make a sale of them, on the most liberal conditions.

5. I conceive that the company who subscribe to the fund in question, will not merely be rewarded with the grateful thanks of the emigrants and settlers, but for the investment of capital this will turn out to be an object of more magnitude and advantage than any other mode by which funds can at present be employed in Europe. Large fortunes have already been made by those who have invested their capitals in judicious purchases of land, and more especially by enterprizing individuals who have encouraged persons to settle on and cultivate such purchased tracts, by giving them a credit of some years for small farms; because, in proportion as settlers are collected together, and cultivation spreads, the unoccupied lands adjacent increase in value and demand. It has not been uncommon, in several of the western States of America, for an individual to buy 4 or 500 acres of land on a credit of several years, and before the expiration of the time allowed for payment, by his mere personal labour, he has been enabled to pay the total value of the farm; so that from a state of absolute poverty, he has become an independent proprietor of the soil, and placed in a situation to sustain a numerous offspring with comfort. The holders of large tracts of land who have laid out their funds in the manner above stated, have uniformly become immensely rich, and beheld their late thickets and forests assume the aspect of culture, whilst villages, towns, and commerce, have sprung up as it were by the hand of magic. If, therefore, we reflect on the tide of emigration rolling to the west, the immense and valuable regions with which the Mississippi and Missouri are connected, and that they are now becoming the channel of communication, even with the shores of the Pacific; I am sincerely of opinion, that the company who become the proprietors of the tract of territory in which the Jewish settlement is to be established, will derive advantages, in point of

interest and profit, superior to any other means that could now be devised for the investment of capital. Local regulations are, besides, to be established for the purpose of securing the reimbursement of the first sums expended, on terms not burdensome or cramping to the infant settlement.

6. I am of opinion, that not only among the opulent Jews, many men of liberal minds and generous hearts will be found to promote the plan, on the principles of philanthropy, but, among those of moderate fortune, numbers will cheerfully contribute their mite, and, by voluntary donations, increase the funds of the Company. Whenever the exercise of private benevolence is called for, three conditions are necessary, viz.: that the end proposed is of such a kind as to be really desirable; secondly, that its attainment is within the reach of the effort to be made; and, lastly, that there is, from the peculiarity of the circumstances, a special need of interference: all these requisites will be found combined in the object in view, and its realization will always serve as a source of heartfelt gratification to those who have promoted it.

The plans proposed by individual adventurers, in emigrating and settling in a distant land, have frequently been destroyed by their going, on the principle of uncertainty with their families, to a strange country, and before they have learned its habits, or selected and purchased a spot suitable for their undertaking, the funds brought out with them have been expended. Thus has their adventure failed for the want of an early helping-hand. But in the plan proposed, every thing is provided for them by a company, and their lands are measured and allotted before their arrival. Food, raiment, and all the necessary implements are laid in for them, till they are in a situation to meet their own wants. By this means, all misfortune and disappointment would be prevented, and plans might be formed, not only for the immediate assistance of the new emigrants and settlers, but also for the future encouragement of new branches of industry. The first settlers will, no doubt, feel a few temporary difficulties, and privations, but those who follow will always meet a directing friend to take them by the hand.

Whether, therefore, we consider the magnitude of the design, or the peculiar circumstances which, at the present moment, have led to its suggestion, the encouragement of the plan is worthy of the

united efforts of every patriot and philanthropist. It must succeed, if only properly organized, because all its parts are clearly practicable. It requires nothing more than the aid and protection of the benevolent and powerful, on this side of the water; on the other, the scope is unbounded. By its realization both the political and moral situation of the Jews will be bettered, for they will enter on the enjoyment of civil rights, and to prevent crime, there is no safer means than to remedy misfortune. Much may be expected from the Jews when placed beyond the reach of want or persecution. They are an industrious, abstemious, and persevering race of people; and when urged by necessity, or animated by hope, they are, unquestionably, capable of making the same exertions as any other part of mankind. Where are the Jewish parents who would not feel delight in beholding their children pursuing the honourable and useful labours of agriculture, in preference to the wretched and menial occupations in which they are now generally engaged? Where is the individual of this class whose bosom would not throb with satisfaction, when he contemplates an establishment of his own brethren, in a country where all can enjoy the same privileges and blessings as the natives themselves? Can it be supposed, that if a prospect so interesting were unfolded to their view, they would be so blind as not to perceive its advantages? Would they not soon contrast their present degraded and persecuted situation with that which awaits them? No sooner would the first settlement be formed, and its benign effects made known by those who are partakers in it than we should find thousands of distressed applicants praying to be removed from their hovels to the land of plenty and toleration. Even from the metropolis of the British empire, many families would emigrate, for notwithstanding, by the laws of Great Britain, and the liberal spirit of British subjects, the Jews are there more secure and happy than in any other part of Europe, they are, nevertheless, excluded from certain political, as well as personal privileges, enjoyed by other classes in society. Besides these considerations, there exist a great number of Jews in London, in a wretched condition, who find it difficult to earn a subsistence by occupations of the most degrading kind.

If a Jewish settlement should be established in the United States, on the enlarged scale here laid down, it does not require the gift of

prophecy to foresee the result. In a very few years such a settlement would become known to the Jews in every quarter of the globe, and we should find thousands flocking to it, who never before dreamt that such an asylum could be procured in any part of the civilized world. We should behold Jewish agriculture spreading through the American forests; Jewish towns and villages adorning the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, and the arts, commerce, and manufactures, would advance with the same rapidity in this new settlement, as has been exemplified in all the other agricultural regions of the United States.

Were I, indeed, to draw a picture of all the highly important consequences which suggest themselves to my mind on this subject, I fear I might be called a speculative enthusiast; but I flatter myself that the hints contained in this cursory memoir, will have a tendency to excite an impartial and serious investigation among the class of Jews whose liberal and benevolent minds will enable them to appreciate the merits of the plan proposed, and whose opulent circumstances give them the means to carry it into execution with promptitude, and on an extensive scale.

London, October 20, 1819.

CLXIII

Mordecai M. Noah⁶ Takes a Hand,

1819-1820

In his *Discourse at the Consecration of Shearith Israel*⁷ of 1818, Mordecai M. Noah gave evidence that he had already thought considerably about the status and possible future of the Jews when he made a plea for their economic diversification through entry into agriculture and the mechanical trades. Again, in reply to Samuel Myers's "feeler" in 1819, Noah indicated that he had long been concerned with the future not only of the Jews of the United States, but also of world Jewry. Although he declared in his letter to Myers that advancing age had induced some measure of prudence and discretion in his thought, this is hard to believe, for he had already envisaged his grandiose proposal for a Jewish settlement on Grand Island, in the Niagara River.⁸ Having failed to gain authorization for this project from the New York State Legislature in 1819, he wrote the two letters printed below, to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. The letters seem to be an attempt by Noah to salvage whatever he could from the temporary setback that his hopes had received. The first letter to Adams, a confidential note, stresses Noah's party services as a reason for giving consideration to the proposal described in the second letter to Adams. This proposal is that Noah be sent abroad, ostensibly as an official representative of the government of the United States, but really for the purpose of encouraging Jewish immigration, to distribute itself through the country. Although Noah's letter to Myers suggests his willingness to cooperate with others, the letters to Adams illustrate admirably the independent, unilateral methods of procedure so characteristic of Noah, to which Judah Zuntz⁹ objected.

311. MORDECAI M. NOAH TO J. Q. ADAMS, 1820¹⁰*Private*

Sir,

The enclosed letter, has been written at the suggestion & request of many friends who have assured me, that the important Subject to which it relates, will receive the attention of Government. After an arduous political contest in this State, in which the General administration has been strenuously supported, I feel that some relief, some change of scene should be allowed me, and I cannot profit better by an interregnum, than interesting the Government in the project detailed in the within communication. In soliciting a foreign appointment, I am not influenced by motives of gain, on the contrary, I decline the acceptance of a more valuable station, which the indulgence of my political friends assure me, will be provided for me next winter. But you, who have been made acquainted with my transactions with the Government while Consul at Tunis,¹¹ will feel that I am Governed by laudible motives, in wishing to shew to the world, that I have not forfeited the Confidence of the President.¹²

I am satisfied, that I can render important Services abroad, in the furtherance of the objects detailed, & wishing to be absent only for a limited period, I am anxious that a favourable consideration may be afforded to this application, which will carry with it the approbation & good wishes of a large portion of the Community. In either case however, I beg that you will believe me to be, very truly & respectfully, Sir, your obedient Servant.

M. M Noah

Mr Adams.

New York July 24 1820

312. MORDECAI M. NOAH'S PROPOSAL, 1820¹³*New York, July 24 1820*

Sir,

At the last Session of the Legislature of this state, I made application for the passage of a law, authorizing the sale of Grand

Island in the Niagara River, for the purpose of making thereon a Commercial City, to be inhabited by enterprizing Jews from Europe. Various circumstances united to the political Situation of the State prevented the transfer of that island, the position of which, is extremely well calculated for Commercial objects. Upon a reconsideration of the original plan I have at length concluded that it would be most prudent to urge the Jewish settlers to spread themselves throughout the Union. Selecting such places of residence, as may comport with their interest, and be favourable to their healthy pursuits, by which mode, they will shortly become amalgamated with other Citizens and prevent those jealousies & religious prejudices, which may arise from associations of wealthy individuals, engaged in commerce or monopolies of any kind. It is however desirable, that a portion of these emigrants, should be directed to the state of Rhode Island. The town of New Port, having been for many years settled by Jews, whose enterprize & commercial resources have, at an early period, very materially benefitted the Commerce of the Eastern States, having a spacious place to worship already erected. & the Charter of the State, together with soil, climate, & location, being uncommonly favourable, it is supposed that by directing a portion of Jewish Capital into that quarter, a very important object will be attained, & a powerful influence given to that section of the Union.¹⁴

The Jews are prepared to imigrate to the United States, they require personal information to confirm what has been repeatedly written to them. This is a subject which has for years occupied my attention; I have long been persuaded, that this is the only country where the Jews can be completely regenerated, where in the enjoyment of perfect civil & religious liberty, free from the operation & effect of national or religious prejudices, under the protection of the laws, their faculties could be developed, their talents & enterprize encouraged; their persons & property protected and themselves respected and esteemed, as their conduct and deportment shall merit. The effects produced by this enlightened example, would in time, be extended to others throughout the world, and gradually lead to emancipation & happiness. It is not surprising, that under such impressions & with such views, that I should have sought from the General Government a foreign

appointment some years ago, which would have enabled me at leisure, to carry my plans of emigration into effect. The unfortunate termination of my mission, deranged all those plans & the disappointment joined to other circumstances may have led to a more warm & feeling expression on the subject, than would have been warranted under any other state of things. Five years have elapsed, since my suspension from office, during which period, I have labored to convince the Government & people, that my public conduct, although inseparable from error was by no means criminal. Under the impression, that no unfavourable sentiments are entertained by the Government, I am about renewing my efforts, and seek to interest the administration in my views. The present situation of Europe, has checked the profitable circulation of a great portion of Jewish Capital. Furnishing at least two thirds of the supplies for the armies on the continent,¹⁵ these facilities of profit and speculation are suddenly checked, and their wealth, returning to their Coffers remains unproductive. The Jews not accustomed to tranquility, on the Continent, are devising means to employ their Capital, while at the same time, the illiberal treatment experienced from some of the Germanic powers, has prepared them for a change of residence. This is therefore the period to impress upon their minds, the great political & commercial advantages, which await them in the United States; but it must be done by personal intercourse, by addressing ourselves to the most intelligent & wealthy affording such oral information of this Country, its soil, climate, and Government as may be calculated to awaken their curiosity, Secure their confidence, and lead to the desirable events which we reasonably anticipate. Thus impressed, I have been urged by my friends to bring the Subject before the Government, & endeavour to interest them in the project so worthy of their countenance, by soliciting a foreign appointment of weight & respectability, under the influence of which, I may successfully impress upon the minds of the Jews, the great advantages which they may secure to themselves & posterity, by emigrating to the United States. The question may be asked, what portion of the Jewish population do you contemplate inviting to this Country? I reply men of wealth, enterprising merchants, silk & other manufacturers from France & Germany, Mechanics wherever they are

to be found, and agriculturalists from Poland & the Ukraine; thus securing at once, the best portion of the Jewish population. It is true, that most of the old inhabitants, long settled in a place, when their habits & associations have become fixed, will not be disposed to emigrate, but their children & relations, governed by more enlightened views, and desirous of establishing a character under more liberal Governments will eagerly embrace the opportunity and bring with them wealth & enterprize. the current of migration once setting towards this Country, and which shall be found to correspond with my representations, will continue to flow in an uninterrupted stream. Communications directly & indirectly have been opened with the most distinguished Jews in Europe on the Subject, a list of them, I herewith transmit,¹⁶ & which constitutes the most wealthy intelligent & enterprising of the nation. The desirable results which I have anticipated, can only be promoted by personal representation, as it is not within the scope of correspondence, to answer all the enquiries which have been & will be made on the subject. These representations must come from one of their nation, who unites in his person the confidence of his people, his Government, & fellow Citizens. His advice will be eagerly embraced, it will set the machine in motion, lead to the organization of emigration Societies, and present at one view to the Jews, a country which they want, and which wants them.

It will be obvious that in soliciting a foreign appointment the prosecution of this plan, cannot be made the subject of official duty & instruction, neither can the Government directly recognise my views, but the President may confer an appointment, justly appreciating these views & benefits which may result to the Country, and my Jewish brethren, seeing in me an evidence of the liberality of our institutions, and the perfect equality of our laws, will at once give full faith & credit to my representations.

The appointment calculated to carry weight with it, & which I may be justified in asking for, is Charge des affaires at Vienna, at the Hague, at Denmark, or any other court in Europe. Consul General at Algiers which I learn is, or will be vacant & which with some privileges would answer the purpose; but the most beneficial would be at Vienna, as the Emperor of Austria has appointed a Charge des Affaires in the United States & has named

Mr. Rotchild the Jewish Banker his Consul General at London, under whose influence a most favourable reception can be obtained.

I have thus Sir, frankly but briefly, explained my views to you and I persuade myself, that you will see in them some good results to our Country. Many instances are recorded of great efforts made by different Governments to encourage the emigration of the Jews, by affording them additional rights & privileges, and Spain & Portugal, in the most flourishing & tolerant periods of their history, are proofs of what the Jews could effect. The commerce of a great portion of Europe is under their control, & by transferring their capital & enterprize to the United States, they may more fully develope our resources, point out new avenues to trade, encourage manufactures, benefit our finances, & probably make large purchases of our public lands. These are weighty considerations, which can never be lost upon an enlightened Government, whose views are extensive. The times require some extraordinary efforts and when it is considered that toleration, freedom & prosperity are open to the Jews in this country, in a greater degree than they ever possessed, the prospect which I have long matured & have now detailed to you, will not be pronounced visionary.

Should the President be disposed to countenance my views, & concur in the belief that some benefit may accrue to the United States, I am at all times ready to appear at the seat of Government, & enter into more extensive details on the subject, & likewise to procure any recommendation from the people of this Country, which the President may be pleased to name.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully Sir, Your obedient
humble Servant
John Quincy Adams Esquire

M M Noah

CLXIV

A European Inquiry to Mordecai M. Noah, 1822

It is altogether too easy to write off Mordecai Noah as entirely self-seeking in his proposals for aiding his fellow-Jews. In fact, there is as much of the pathetic as there is of the ludicrous in his schemes. However we may emphasize the advantages Noah hoped to gain for himself or the incredible naivete of the plans he engineered, we must not neglect the realization that he was making suggestions to which the mind of his age responded, and that there was an interest among the Jews of Europe in the possibility that Noah's dreams would be fruitful. The letter below, written by two leaders of the "Science of Judaism" (*Wissenschaft des Judenthums*) movement is worthy of being preserved here as evidence that Noah's voice was being heard in European Jewish circles. Although this letter from Edouard Gans¹⁷ (who was later converted to Christianity) and Leopold Zunz¹⁸ is dated in 1822 and was first published in translation in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, October 16, 1822,¹⁹ it was again released to the press by Noah in 1825, after his Grand Island project had been criticised as "visionary." It was then printed in The Albany (N.Y.) *Daily Advertiser* of October 4, 1825. Noah's purpose in republishing the letter, as set forth in that place, was "to exhibit an evidence of the fact that, although the Jews in the United States were not prepared for emigration, or the re-establishment of the nation, yet those abroad, who were more interested, have been alive to the project and in expectation of events which have taken place."

313. GANS AND ZUNZ TO
MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH, 1822²⁰

Most honorable Sir. Amidst the general distress and public calamity under which a great part of the European Jews laboured, some years ago, and still are seen to labour, it was, indeed, no small consolation to every one, whom the fate of our brethren would appear no trifle, to hear the noble voice of a most excellent partaker of our faith, animating the abject spirits of the members of an oppressed creed, by *summoning them* from an ungrateful and unjust country, to that part of our globe which they style the *new world*, but would yet, with greater reason, name the better one. It was you, most honorable sir, who afforded this sublime comfort. Since that time, *the better part of the European Jews are looking with the eager countenance of hope to the United States of North America, happy once to exchange the miseries of their native soil for public freedom, granted there to every religion; and for that general happiness which, not the adherents of a privileged faith alone, but every citizen is entitled to share.*

The society who dares to address you this letter, united for the purpose of advancing the progress of science and knowledge amongst the partners of our religion, but penetrated at the same time with the deepest feelings of gratitude, for the pleasing view which you have opened to our unhappy brethren, would have deemed itself failing in a most urgent duty, not to acknowledge the *full extent of your meritorious undertaking*, by making you Extraordinary Member of our Congregation, and Correspondent General for the United States, according to which you will receive herewith the Letters Patent of this nomination, together with two accounts of the present state of our Society, which will perhaps give you a better notion of our *final purpose*, that this short letter can be able to afford.

You would, most honorable sir, infinitely oblige us, if you would send us an exact relation of all the particulars concerning the Jews in every province of the United States, their progress in business and knowledge, and the rights allowed to them in general, and by each single state. But you would still more oblige us, by proposing

to us a sufficient number of persons, able to be members of our society, and who, *under your presidency*, settling a particular congregation, would establish a perpetual correspondence with us about the means of *transplanting a vast portion of European Jews to the United States*, and how such emigration may be connected with the welfare of those who would prefer leaving their country to escape endless slavery and oppression.

E. Gans, Doctor of Common Law, President.

Zunz, Doctor of Philosophy, Vice President.

M. Moser,²¹ 1st Vice Sec'y.

To M. M. Noah, Esq.

Berlin, 1st Jan. 1822

CLXV

Ararat, City of Refuge, 1825-1826

Of all the dreams and schemes for the colonization of Jews in America, none is as well known as Mordecai M. Noah's projected Ararat. In part, certainly, this notoriety is inseparable from the personality of Noah himself. A journalist by profession, he saw to it that his scheme to build "a city of refuge for the Jews" on Grand Island in the Niagara River opposite Buffalo received plenty of publicity. Dramatist by avocation, he made the dedicatory exercises, on September 15, 1825, into a dramatic spectacle, with himself in the central role. Politician by nature, he suited his part to his temperament, ordaining himself "Governor and judge of Israel."

The exercises, in which both the militia and the Masons as well as officials of local, state and national governments had a place, did not take place at Grand Island. Noah's practicality had not extended to the provision of an adequate number of boats to ferry the throng to Grand Island for the laying of the cornerstone of Ararat. So the ceremonies were held in Buffalo's small Episcopalian church, St. Paul's.

Despite the fanfare, Noah's scheme was a spectacular failure. It never went beyond the blueprint stage, and, though it found defenders, the prevailing reaction, both in the United States and Europe, was vigorously unfavorable. Those friends of Noah who had purchased the land on which Ararat was to stand and who anticipated large profits on their investment were doomed to disappointment. But Noah himself, undaunted, went on to other dreams and other projects.

314. NOAH'S PROCLAMATION TO THE JEWS, 1825²²

Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God to manifest to his chosen people the approach of that period when, in fulfillment of the

promises made to the race of Jacob, and as a reward for their pious constancy and triumphant fidelity, they are to be gathered from the four quarters of the globe, and to resume their rank and character among the governments of the earth;

And Whereas, the peace which now prevails among civilized nations, the progress of learning throughout the world, and the general spirit of liberality and toleration which exists together with other changes favorable to light and to liberty, mark in an especial manner the approach of that time, when "peace on earth good will to man" are to prevail with a benign and extended influence, and the ancient people of God, the first to proclaim his unity and omnipotence, are to be restored to their inheritance, and enjoy the rights of a sovereign independent people;

Therefore, I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States of America, late Consul of the said States to the City and Kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Counsellor at Law, and by the grace of God, Governor and Judge of Israel, have issued this my Proclamation, announcing to the Jews throughout the world, that an asylum is prepared and hereby offered to them, where they can enjoy that peace, comfort and happiness which have been denied them through the intolerance and misgovernment of former ages; an asylum in a free and powerful country remarkable for its vast resources, the richness of its soil, and the salubrity of its climate; where industry is encouraged, education promoted, and good faith rewarded, "a land of milk and honey," where Israel may repose in peace, under his "vine and fig tree," and where our people may so familiarize themselves with the science of government and the lights of learning and civilization, as may qualify them for that great and final restoration to their ancient heritage, which the times so powerfully indicate.

The asylum referred to is in the State of New York, the greatest State in the American confederacy. New York contains forty-three thousand, two hundred and fourteen square miles, divided into fifty-five counties, and having six thousand and eighty-seven post towns and cities, containing one million, five hundred thousand inhabitants, together with six million acres of cultivated land, improvements in agriculture and manufactures, in trade and commerce, which include a valuation of three hundred millions of

dollars of taxable property; one hundred and fifty thousand militia, armed and equipped; a constitution founded upon an equality of rights, having no test-oaths, and recognizing no religious distinctions, and seven thousand free schools and colleges, affording the blessings of education to four hundred thousand children. Such is the great and increasing State to which the emigration of the Jews is directed.

The desired spot in the State of New York, to which I hereby invite my beloved people throughout the world, in common with those of every religious denomination, is called Grand Island, and on which I shall lay the foundation of a City of Refuge, to be called Ararat.

Grand Island in the Niagara river is bounded by Ontario on the north, and Erie on the south, and within a few miles of each of these great commercial lakes. The island is nearly twelve miles in length, and varying from three to seven miles in breadth, and contains upwards of seventeen thousand acres of remarkably rich and fertile land. Lake Erie is about two hundred and seventy miles in length, and borders on the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; and westwardly, by the possessions of our friends and neighbors, the British subjects of Upper Canada. This splendid lake unites itself by means of navigable rivers, with lakes St. Clair, Huron, Michigan and Superior, embracing a lake shore of nearly three thousand miles; and by short canals those vast sheets of water will be connected with the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, thereby establishing a great and valuable internal trade to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. Lake Ontario, on the north, is one hundred and ninety miles in length, and empties into the St. Lawrence, which, passing through the Province of Lower Canada, carries the commerce of Quebec and Montreal to the Atlantic Ocean.

Thus fortified to the right and left by the extensive commercial resources of the Great Lakes and their tributary streams, within four miles of the sublime Falls of Niagara, affording the greatest water-power in the world for manufacturing purposes, directly opposite the mouth of the Grand Island Canal of three hundred and sixty miles inland navigation to the Hudson River and city of New York, having the fur trade of Upper Canada to the west,

and also of the great territories towards the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean; likewise the trade of the Western States of America, Grand Island may be considered as surrounded by every commercial, manufacturing and agricultural advantage, and from its location is pre-eminently calculated to become, in time, the greatest trading and commercial depot in the new and better world. To men of worth and industry it has every substantial attraction; the capitalist will be enabled to enjoy his resources with undoubted profit, and the mechanic cannot fail to reap the reward of enterprise in a great and growing republic; but to the industrious mechanic, manufacturer and agriculturist it holds forth great and improving advantages.

Deprived, as our people have been for centuries of a right in the soil, they will learn, with peculiar satisfaction, that here they can till the soil, reap the harvest, and raise the flocks which are unquestionably their own; and, in the full and unmolested enjoyment of their religious rights, and of every civil immunity, together with peace and plenty, they can lift up their voice in gratitude to Him who sustained our fathers in the wilderness, and brought us in triumph out of the land of Egypt; who assigned to us the safekeeping of his oracles, who proclaimed us his people, and who has ever walked before us like a "Cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night."

In His name do I revive, renew and *reestablish* the government of the Jewish Nation, under the auspices and protection of the constitution and laws of the United States of America; confirming and perpetuating all our rights and privileges, our name, our rank, and our power among the nations of the earth, as they existed and were recognized under the government of the Judges. And I hereby enjoin it upon all our pious and venerable Rabbis, our Presidents and Elders of Synagogues, Chiefs of Colleges and brethren in authority throughout the world, to circulate and make known this, my Proclamation, and give it full publicity, credence and effect.

It is my will that a census of the Jews throughout the world be taken, and returns of persons, together with their age and occupations to be registered in the archives of the Synagogues where they are accustomed to worship, designating such, in particular, as have

been and are distinguished in the useful arts, in science or in knowledge.

Those of our people who, from age, local attachment, or from any other cause, prefer remaining in the several parts of the world which they now respectively inhabit, and who are treated with liberality by the public authorities, are permitted to do so, and are specially recommended to be faithful to the governments which protect them. It is, however, expected that they will aid and encourage the emigration of the young and enterprising, and endeavor to send to this country such as will add to our national strength and character, by their industry, honor and patriotism.

Those Jews who are in the military employment of the different sovereigns of Europe are enjoined to keep in their ranks until further orders, and conduct themselves with bravery and fidelity.

I command that a strict neutrality be observed in the pending wars between the Greeks and the Turks, enjoined by considerations of safety towards a numerous population of Jews now under the oppressive dominion of the Ottoman Porte.

The annual gifts which, for many centuries, have been afforded to our pious brethren in our holy City of Jerusalem (to which may God speedily restore us) are to continue with unabated liberality; our seminaries of learning and institutions of charity in every part of the world are to be increased, in order that wisdom and virtue may permanently prevail among the chosen people.

I abolish forever polygamy among the Jews, which, without religious warrant, still exists in Asia, and Africa. I shall prohibit marriages or giving Kedushin without both parties are of a suitable age, and can read and write the language of the country which they respectively inhabit, and which I trust will ensure for their offspring the blessings of education and probably, the lights of science.

Prayers shall forever be said in the Hebrew language, but it is recommended that occasional discourses on the principles of the Jewish faith and the doctrines of morality generally, be delivered in the language of the country; together with such reforms, which, without departing from the ancient faith, may add greater solemnity to our worship.

The Caraite and Samaritan Jews, together with the black Jews

of India and Africa, and likewise those in Cochin, China and the sect on the coast of Malabar, are entitled to an equality of rights and religious privileges, as are all who may partake of the great covenant and obey and respect the Mosaical laws.

The Indians of the American continent, in their admitted Asiatic origin, in their worship of God, in their dialect and language, in their sacrifices, marriages, divorces, burials, fastings, purifications, punishments, cities of refuge, divisions of tribes, in their High Priests, in their wars and in their victories, being in all probability, the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, which were carried captive by the King of Assyria, measures will be adopted to make them sensible of their condition and finally re-unite them with their brethren, the chosen people.

A capitation tax of three shekels in silver, per annum, or one Spanish dollar, is hereby levied upon each Jew throughout the world, to be collected by the Treasurer of the different congregations for the purpose of defraying the various expenses of re-organizing the government, of aiding emigrants in the purchase of agricultural implements, providing for their immediate wants and comforts, and assisting their families in making their first settlements, together with such free-will offerings as may be generally made in the furtherance of the laudable objects connected with the restoration of the people and the glory of the Jewish nation. A judge of Israel shall be chosen once in every four years by the Consistory at Paris, at which time proxies from every congregation shall be received.

I do hereby name as Commissioners, the most learned and pious Abraham de Cologna,²³ Knight of the Iron Crown of Lombardy, Grand Rabbi of the Jews and President of the Consistory at Paris; likewise the Grand Rabbi Andrade²⁴ of Bordeaux; and also our learned and esteemed Grand Rabbis of the German and Portuguese Jews, in London, Rabbis Herschell²⁵ and Meldola;²⁶ together with the Honorable Aaron Nunez Cardoza,²⁷ of Gibraltar; Abraham Busnac,²⁸ of Leghorn; Benjamin Gradis²⁹ of Bordeaux; Dr. E. Gans³⁰ and Professor Zunz³¹ of Berlin; and Dr. Leo Woolf³² of Hamburg to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provisions of this my Proclamation, with powers to appoint the necessary agents in the several parts of the world, and to establish emigration

societies, in order that the Jews may be concentrated and capacitated to act as a distinct body, having at the head of each kingdom or republic such presiding officers as I shall upon their recommendation appoint. Instructions to these, my commissioners, shall be forthwith transmitted; and a more enlarged and general view of plan, motives and objects will be detailed in the address to the nation. The Consistory at Paris is hereby authorized and empowered to name three discreet persons of competent abilities, to visit the United States, and make such reports to the nation as the actual condition of this country shall warrant.

I do appoint Roshhodesh Adar, February 7th, 1826, to be observed with suitable demonstrations as a day of Thanksgiving to the Lord God of Israel for the manifold blessings and signal protection which he has deigned to extend to his people, and in order, that, on that great occasion our prayers may be offered for the continuance of His divine mercy and the fulfillment of all the promises and pledges made to the race of Jacob.

I recommend peace and union among us; charity and good-will to all; toleration and liberality to our brethren of every religious denomination, enjoined by the mild and just precepts of our holy religion; honor and good faith in the fulfillment of all our contracts, together with temperance, economy, and industry in our habits.

I humbly entreat to be remembered in your prayers; and lastly and most earnestly I do enjoin you to "keep the charge of the Holy God", to walk His ways, to keep His statutes, and His commandments, and His judgments, and His testimonies, as it is written in the laws of Moses, "That thou mayest prosper in all thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself."

Given at Buffalo, in the State of New York, this second day Tishri, in the year of the world 5586, corresponding with the fifteenth day of September, 1825, and in the fiftieth year of American independence.

By the Judge,

A. B. Seixas,³³ Secretary, Pro tem.

315. UNFAVORABLE AMERICAN REACTION, 1825³⁴

Ararat. Mr. Noah, editor of the New York National Advocate, as the agent for some land speculators, having purchased Grand

Island, which lies in the Niagara river, proceeded, on the 15th ult. to the performance, (at Buffalo), of certain ceremonies, as founding a new city to be built on the island, and called "Ararat." He made a great speech on the occasion, *long* enough to fill several pages, and has issued a proclamation to the Jews, which beats gen. Smyth's³⁵ address to the "men of New York," "*all hollow*." We had some disposition to publish these things, but do not see how we should be fully justified in giving up so much room to an *individual*, employed to make the most out of the bargain which he has negotiated, for, most probably, some *foreign speculators*—Jews themselves, perhaps, who have no sort of objection to advance their own wealth at the cost of their fellows—and to "get money, honestly if they can, *but to get money*."

Mr. Noah has *nominated himself* "governor and judge of Israel" which he says that he is, aye, and "by the grace of God" too! He tells us that the island is to be an asylum for the Jews. He *revives* the government of the Jewish nation, and *commands* all the venerable Rabbies, Elders, &c to respect his proclamation and give it credence and effect. He *orders* a census of all Jews, and *directs* that they shall be registered. The Jews that are in the military employment of emperors, kings, &c. he *enjoins* to conduct themselves bravely and with fidelity "until further *orders*." He *commands* them to be neutral in the war between the Greeks and the Turks. *Prescribes* the giving of gifts to his "pious brethren" at Jerusalem. He *abolishes* polygamy forever, and *prohibits* marriages, unless the parties can read and write. *Orders* the saying of prayers. *Directs* that the black Jews of India and Africa shall have an equality of rights, and *decrees* that the American Indians are the descendants of the lost tribes! He *levies a capitation tax, of one dollar per annum, on every Jew that there is in the world*, to pass into his treasury! Names commissioners to act for him in different countries, to whom he will send *instructions*. He appoints a day in February next, to be observed as a general thanksgiving, and wishes to be remembered in the prayers of his brethren. All which is "given at Buffalo, the second day of Tisri, in the year of the world, 5586, corresponding with the 15th Sept. 1825," a strange mixture of Christianity and Judaism, and the whole is signed, "By the judge, A. B. Siexas [sic] sec. pro tem."

So much for "I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States, late consul of the said states to the city and kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Counsellor at Law, and, by the grace of God, (and *self-nomination*), governor and judge of Israel;" and he tells us "that the judges of Israel were absolute and independent like the kings," the power of which he hath assumed for himself, calling out "*attention the universe, by kingdoms, to the right wheel, march,*" and *stand by your arms* on my island!

It is very possible that this *speculation* may succeed, so far as to fill the pockets of Mr. Noah and his associates, which, it is plainly evident, is the *corner stone* of the project just developed. A gathering of the Jews on a little island in the *Niagara* river previous to a re-conquest of *Canaan*, is a queer notion, indeed; and, if partial success attends it, we shall be prepared to bear another proclamation that our brother editor is self-declared to be, at least, the immediate forerunner of the expected Messiah! But this is a matter between him and his brethren; and we do not see any reason why Mr. Noah may not make as good a judge, high priest or king, as Ferdinand of Spain, Charles of France, or George of England—or even the great autocrat and "deliverer" himself; and, surely, the Jewish women will speak well of him for abolishing polygamy. But enough about this land-jobbing business, with which the newspapers are filled. Mr. Noah is paid for his services, and bound to do the best that he can for his employers, and if he can *quize* the Jews into payment of *six millions of dollars a year*, (for there is supposed to be six millions of them), he will do a very great business, indeed! ³⁶

316. UNFAVORABLE EUROPEAN REACTION, 1826 ³⁷

Our readers will be interested to learn some striking news. We are publishing here a manifesto of the governor Mordecai Manuel Noah to the Jews of the whole world. For the better understanding of that peculiar document, we shall preface a few explanatory remarks:

There is a Jewish citizen in North America by the name of Mordecai Manuel Noah. This gentleman was at one time the North American Ambassador in Tunis and later occupied the

position of sheriff in the city of New York. Recently he conceived the generous idea of building a city for the settlement of Jews. He plans to establish that city by the Niagara River, in the state of New York, and has now sent out a letter concerning the planned settlement to the Jews throughout the world. He begins his letter by assuming the dignity of governor of this new settlement and of judge in Israel. He tells his people that, with the help of God (he poses as God's messenger), he is confident of being able to found a city of refuge for all the Jews. He has graciously selected the site of the city on Grand Island, near Niagara Falls, because that island has a very large area and affords the opportunity of building on it a big and strong city. The location is well chosen, as it is splendidly adapted for a great commercial center. The Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah then goes on to command his people as though he were their undisputed ruler whose beck and call they must obey.

The document contains a number of orders by the Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah. A poll tax, he commands, shall be levied of three shekels in silver, equalling the Spanish piaster or the American dollar. This tax is to be paid by every Jew the world over. The Consistory of Paris is to select a worthy person for leader and judge in Israel. That judge shall have in the different countries a council of advisers with whom he might consult.

Mr. Noah then goes on in his letter to appoint the following gentlemen on the continent and in the sea ports as his commissioners: . . .

This done, the Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah concludes his proclamation by empowering the Consistory of Paris to send a committee of three to North America, in order to investigate his plans. He ends by admonishing all Jews "to lead just and righteous lives and to conduct themselves properly: to be temperate in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures; to support themselves by their handicraft, and to be content with little." He also ordains that "the first day of February, 1826 (the first day of Adar I, 5586) be set aside as a religious feast and that all the Jews shall assemble on that day and offer thanks and praises to the Almighty God, in accordance with the divine prophecies concerning the restored house of Jacob."

The New York newspapers give a curious account of the project. One of them writes: "Israel will be restored. The Jewish nation will now be revived. One of their faith has been inspired to raise once more the banner of the Jews. A large plot of ground has already been acquired on Grand Island which is to be the permanent possession of the Jews. It is planned to establish there a large city which shall be called Ararat. To this city will come the Jews from all countries of the world. It will be autonomous and independent of any government and will enjoy the protection of North America. Thus the happy days of old have come again for the Jews. They will once again have their own judges and rulers. The Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah will be the commander and governor of his people.

"In commemoration of the great event, the Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah and his distinguished friends invited their acquaintances and the American military officers to assemble in a church, where, with impressive ceremonies, a great feast was celebrated. The foundation stone of the proposed city lay on a table, and upon it were engraved:

"Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, The Lord is one!

"ARARAT

"A City of Refuge for the Jews. Founded by Mordecai Manuel Noah in the month of Tishri, 5585 (September 1825) and in the 50th year of American Independence."

"Upon the same table stood also a silver dish containing, corn, wine and oil. At the completion of the service and its accompanying ceremonies, the Hon. Mordecai Manuel Noah called loudly from the pulpit: 'Rejoice, O Israel, this day thou has become a nation!'"

Some of the newspapers also published detailed descriptions of the dedicatory exercises that were held in that church. There were, according to these descriptions, gathered many prominent people to witness the dedication, and there was so large a crowd desirous of attending the service that the boat which was to take the people across to the island could not hold them all. The self-appointed "governor and judge in Israel," Mordecai Manuel Noah, was dressed in a fine silk gown and wore around his neck a gold chain from which was suspended a gold medal. On both sides of the church there were stationed two rows of soldiers and between these the

people passed into the church. The procession into the church was accompanied by music and songs taken from Judas Maccabeus. The order of service was as follows: At first the worshipers offered a silent prayer, then they sang some songs of praise and thanks from Judas Maccabeus. This was followed by the reading of appropriate passages from the Prophets. At the conclusion there were responsive readings from Psalms (Chapters 99, 100 and 127).

The service over, the people left the church in the same line and order in which they had marched in and betook themselves to some other place, where an immense crowd awaited them. Here the celebration was taken up again and continued.

In this fashion was carried on Mordecai Manuel Noah's dedicatory service, a unique service indeed!

CLXVI

A Self-Help Society

Appeals for Aid, 1837

The various proposals for Jewish agricultural colonies that have hitherto been mentioned were all, as it were, suggestions from above. They came either from promoters or from successful men, not from those who might be directly helped by participation in an agricultural colony. In the case of the proposals below, though they no more than their predecessors actually led to the formation of an agricultural colony, they came from an association of unsuccessful men and women who hoped for resettlement. The signators were hardly men of the masses; Donovan³⁸ was clerk of Congregation Anshe Chesed and Jackson³⁹ was one of the earliest Jewish publishers in New York, and both had come to the United States from England. Most of the members of the Association Zeire Hazon⁴⁰ were, by the testimony of this statement, immigrants from Germany, and they looked forward to their numbers being increased by further German immigrants. 1837 was a year of depression and these unsuccessful men were apparently convinced that they could make a living as farmers if only they could persuade their Jewish brothers to finance the purchase of their land. It is interesting to note the emphasis that this group of relatively recent arrivals in America placed upon the value of association for the preservation of religious customs. They felt the pull of the American environment as something opposed to traditional Jewish observance, and hoped to make of their agricultural colony an enclave of Judaism in an indifferent world.

317. AN APPEAL, 1837⁴¹

To their Brethren in the United States

This Association, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the time of its organization, address their brethren throughout the United States; in reference [sic] to the character of their association, and the purposes for which it was instituted. It is well known, that, every year, a greater or less number of Jewish Emigrants arrive in the different ports of this country; and that within the last two years their number has greatly increased; many of them, particularly those from Germany, are mechanics and agriculturists; and would do well, could they locate themselves, together, in some part of this country suitable for their purposes: but this, situated as they are, without the means necessary for such an undertaking, they are unable to do; the result of which is, they are compelled to remain in the cities; where, in consequence of their being unable to compete with the native workmen, on account of the Sabbaths, and Holidays, and their ignorance of the language of the country they are, from necessity, forced to engage in occupations of a trifling [sic] character, which tend to lessen their own respectability. and that of the society of which they are members. Under these circumstances, it is evident that something must be done to remedy the evil, both for these already here, and those who may hereafter arrive; the high price of rent, provisions, fuel, and other necessities of life, the want of proper employment, and of fitting schools, to which they may send their children, to receive general and religious instruction; renders it necessary, that they should remove to some other location, where those difficulties may be obviated: As it is at present, all their time is employed in endeavouring to gain a support; and all the means that they can thus accumulate are spent in obtaining the bare necessities of life; so that they are unable to lay up any thing for their families, or to attend, properly, to the instruction of their children, who, if their situation should continue the same, must grow up destitute of that moral restraint so necessary to their becoming useful and intelligent members of society.

The members of this Association are mostly from Germany,

and have arrived here within the last three years. Since their arrival they have endeavoured to gain a livelihood by pursuing their different occupations, but owing to the difficulties with which they have had to contend, on account of their religion and the high price of the necessaries of life, as already stated, are unable to lay up any thing for their future support; in consequence of which, and the prospective misfortunes that must attend their families, should they remain where they are, they have organized themselves into an association, for the purpose of removing West, and settling on some part of the Public Lands, suitable for agricultural purposes. They are aware of the difficulties with which they will have, at first, to contend; and are prepared to meet them; as they are conscious they will last but for a short time, and that they will be soon enabled to command a competence; while, at the same time, they will be making a permanent provision for their children: those however are not the only benefits, which, in their opinion, will arise from this undertaking, but they will point out the way to others, and will, perhaps, be instrumental in founding an institution, which, in its future effects, may be productive of the most brilliant results.

That something should be done, to remedy the present state of things, is sufficiently evident, the number of Jewish Emigrants arriving in this country, continually increases, and owing to the arbitrary enactments which have recently been made in Hesse Cassell, and other states of Germany, a still greater number may be expected to arrive hereafter. The only way in which the evil resulting from such a rapid increase of population, in so short a time, can be averted, is by adopting the plan of our Association, and forming a settlement in some part of the Western Section of this country, when, what would otherwise have been an injury will become conducive to interests of the greatest importance.

To effect the object which this Association has in view, it is necessary, that they should be provided with the requisite means; the members of it depend, on their own labour for their support, as before stated; and consequently, are not possessed of an amount sufficient, to enable them, unaided, to carry so great an undertaking into effect; they are, therefore compelled to have recourse to their brethren for assistance, trusting, that this appeal to their liberality, will not be in vain; and that an undertaking which promises to

add so much lustre to the Jewish character may not fail for want of the trifling means necessary to ensure its success. The means required, are for the purpose of enabling us to procure the different implements of agriculture, the stock and materials necessary for farming purposes, and provisions, sufficient to last until a crop can be raised: The amount required for which purposes, is but trifling, and which, if our brethren will but exhibit that liberality so conspicuous in their character heretofore, can easily be obtained.

The site which the Association intend locating on, will be some portion of the Government Lands in the west; this section of country being on account of its extreme fertility of soil, and mildness of climate, the best adapted to agricultural purposes, and in consequence of the immense quantity of rich, prairie land, which it contains, peculiarly fitted to a people, unacquainted with the labour of clearing a thickly timbered country; and who would be, in fact, inadequate to such a task.

One of the leading objects of this Association is the formation of a Congregation, wherever they may locate, for which purpose they will provide themselves with a [Shofar]⁴² and [Sefer]⁴³ besides there being several of their number duly qualified to act in the capacities of [Shohet]⁴⁴ and [Mohel].⁴⁵

The members of this association, are averse to removing separately into the country, as they have observed, with regret, that most Jews who do so, lose all respect for their religion, and by becoming blended with the general mass. not only forget their religion, but too often, those great moral precepts and restraints which that religion inculcates.

In requesting the assistance of their brethren, the Association are aware, that improper views may be attributed to them; and that it may possibly be supposed, this call on their liberality is intended, only, for the purpose of enabling them to raise money, by imposing on the sympathies of the public; they know that there are those capable of such actions, and that villainies of the kind have been so often perpetrated, that it is necessary, for the purpose of inspiring the world with a confidence in their proceedings. and to convince them of the true character of this Association; that they take such measures, and adopt such precautions, as will effectually tend to remove every vestige of suspicion: they have, therefore,

provided, that certain persons, alone, shall be appointed to collect donations for the Association; and that all moneys, so collected, shall be paid into the hands of some responsible individual, not a member of the Association, who shall act as their agent, and who, together with the gentlemen collecting the donations, shall have the controul of the same; with the view also, of preventing persons, with improper motives, from joining the Association, they have resolved, that no person shall receive any assistance from it in money, but always in kind, and that any member, who shall solicit charitable donations, unless specially authorised by a written permission from the Board of Managers, shall be expelled from the Association; and with the still further view, of preventing any imposition upon the Public, or the Association, they have determined, that each member shall give such security for his expenses to the place of settlement, as the Board of Managers may direct.

The Association inform their brethren, that they will receive with thanks, what ever donations may be given them, whether of money, or of the articles which they will stand in need of, such as impliments of agriculture, hardware, clothing, provisions, &c., and that any donations of this kind, may be given to the President, or Secretary of the Association, who will receive the same; as all the money, that will be needed, will be the amount necessary for purchasing stock, and such provisions as will be cheaper there, than here, and also, the other materials, that are required in the organization of new settlements. On their arrival at the location, a Store house will be erected, in which will be deposited all the property of the Association; and which Store House, will be under the controul of the Board of Managers. A Physician will also accompany the Association with a supply of medicine; so that every thing will be attended to, so far as respects the health and comforts of its members, should the Association go into operation.

Having explained the reasons that urged us to form an Association, the objects for which it has been instituted, and the plan we propose to pursue; all that remains for us to do, is, trusting to the intervention of Divine Providence, to throw ourselves on the liberality of our bretheren, and look to them for support; in accordance with which feelings, we have framed this address to them, trusting that this appeal to their liberality may not be in vain, and that

they will come forward and aid an undertaking which promises to be productive of so much good.

By Order of the Association.

S. H. Jackson, President

Attest.

T. W. Donovan, Secretary.

CLXVII

Palestine and America, 1831

One of Isaac Leeser's⁴⁶ early sermons, delivered on the Sabbath after the Ninth of Ab, 1831, discussed the traditional theme of the restoration of the scattered remnants of the house of Israel to Palestine. The Zionist possibilities that had already seized on the mind of the more imaginative Mordecai M. Noah and that were to attract Leeser himself nearly twenty years later, had no force in Leeser's thinking at the time of this sermon. The restoration that he conceived was to be miraculous, and he regarded Jewish "patriotism" as the continuing hope for such a miraculous return to Zion. In this context, he raised a question that was often to be asked in later times: whether there is any conflict between Jewish patriotism and American patriotism. The answer that Leeser gave denied a conflict and suggested a theme that has also been recurrent in American discussions of Palestine; it is not for the sake of the fortunate Jews of America that the return to Zion is so desirable and necessary, but for the sake of their unfortunate fellow-Jews in other countries, where they are subject to persecution and ill-treatment.

318. LEESER ON RESTORATION TO ZION, 1831⁴⁷

Of all virtues, which grace human nature, patriotism is one which possesses something so holy, a certain approach to angelic disinterestedness: that we may freely say, that, next to assisting an enemy in the hour of his distress, it is the noblest feeling in which we can indulge. I allude not to the ambition which assumes the garb of patriotism, merely to elevate itself to distinction in the state: I speak not of the murderous lust, which animates the soldier of fortune in his search of an imperishable name by deeds of daring and violence; but of him, who stands forth in his country's defence, when danger approaches, regardless of consequences; and of the

inobtrusive citizen who in his humble sphere yields everything—life, liberty, and wealth—in the service of his home, his own native land: for he only is a true patriot to whom can be awarded the merit of loving his country for its own sake, but not for the purpose of obtaining lucre, power, or renown. Let such a patriot be ever so distant from the home of his childhood, ever so far from the land of his birth, to it his mind will revert; nay, though his countrymen have treated him with ingratitude or undeserved wrong, he will still be willing to act the part of a good citizen, despite of the ill-treatment he may have encountered. And the exile too will think with fond regret of the spot, where his parents repose in their graves, to the place, where he first indulged in his youthful plays; and no land upon earth can awaken in him those feelings of ardour and devotion, which his native soil calls up within his bosom. If we apply these general principles to our own particular condition, it behoves us to inquire: “Which is the country that the collective nation of Israelites can call their own land?” Is it this land, where freedom dwells? Is it the land of the Spaniard, where the name of freedom is almost unknown? Is it the wide desert of central Asia, where the barbarous Tatar feeds his countless herds? Is it the country, where the Russian despot rules with tyrannic sway? No! no! it is the favoured land of the East, where the Israelites dwelled of yore, it is the land which God covenanted to give to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and to their seed after them; it is the land of the Lebanon, which the dying prophet desired so ardently to see; it is the land, where the once beautiful Jerusalem yet stands although in ruins; it is the land, where stood in olden days the sacred temple, resplendent once in all the beauty of holiness, but which our transgressions, alas! caused to be twice destroyed, when our people fell into the hand of their enemies! This is the land which is the Israelite’s home, and he should always regard himself as having an interest in its soil, although he has been born in exile, in the country of the stranger, far from the banks of the lowly Jordan; for there it was, where our national glory reached its highest elevation, and because we have remained scattered and disunited, ever since we were driven thence. Do not misunderstand me as saying, that you should not regard the country in which you live as your own, and that you should not

endeavour to serve it according to the best of your abilities; for we are commanded by the prophet, speaking in the name of God, "to seek the peace of the city to which we have been banished." As Jews, therefore, and believers in the revealed law and prophets, we are bound to obey the laws of the land and to uphold the authorities in every instance, where their edicts are not at variance with the commandments of God. Every Israelite is accordingly obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the state, and it would be unpardonable in any one to endeavour to avoid paying the government dues by any fraudulent device whatsoever. In inculcating, therefore, a love for Palestine, it must by no means be understood as in any manner teaching and enforcing a diminished love for our present abode; nay more, according to our rules, it is wrong to offend against the laws of a despotic country; how much more then ought we to observe this regulation in this and other countries, where we have a small share in the legislation, by having the equal right to vote for the representatives of the people, who enact the laws. Still, as we have said in the beginning of these remarks, the home of the Israelite is the distant land of Moria, where the glory of the Lord used to shine and instruct the children of his choice; and if we take but a rapid view of our national history, it can be readily shown that we have lost much by having been hurried from the boundaries of our own, our fatherland. . . .

It is asked; "Why shall we regret Jerusalem in a land where universal freedom reigns?" But let me ask in return: Do all Israelites dwell here? where is the multitude, who yet suffers every indignity in the country of the impious ruler of Russia . . . ? are those Israelites free, who in Spain and Portugal are not permitted to avow their descent even, except it be under the protection of a feigned apostacy? Yes, brethren, unless Jews in all countries of the world had equal freedom, this objection cannot bear the semblance of reason, for none can be bold enough to assert, that the Israelites are saved by being at rest in one, or a few countries at most, whilst every where else they are suffering and oppressed. But even suppose, that in the process of time the march of civilization were to break down the walls of prejudice, and induce all the rulers of the earth to place Jews upon a perfect equality with their other subjects or citizens: even then, I say, we should have

cause to observe, annually, the day of the destruction of Jerusalem as a day of humiliation and fasting, since under the most favourable aspect of things, we cannot indulge the hope, that we shall be permitted to be governed by our own laws; and let happen what will, we can never form our scattered remains into one united society, till it pleases God to restore us to our land; and thus be we *slaves* or *citizens*, as Jews we should ever regard the non-possession of Palestine as a great national evil, which we cannot enough deplore. . . .

Are we less exiles, because we have been exiles for near eighteen hundred years? or, do you wish it said, that Jews have lost their national feelings because they no longer live in Palestine, and because the punishment inflicted has been so long continued on account of their obduracy in not repenting? But the time has not yet come, when it can be said with truth, that we have ceased to feel like Jews, and let us breathe the fervent hope, that such a time may never come. And I appeal to you all, brethren, whether you are not always affected with sorrow at hearing, that in any quarter of the globe our brethren are oppressed. What proves this, but that no time nor place can reconcile us, not even the most careless, to be indifferent spectators of the maltreatment of the Jew as such; and should we not then mourn for the event, which was the beginning of all these oft-repeated calamities?

Much good may result to the Jewish community, by their turning unitedly every year to the state of their former splendour and glory, with a regret which such sad reflection is calculated to call up, for it must tend to bind all closely together, when every one feels, that he is in truth a member of a noble people, and that all the evil effects of distance of time and place, of scorn, of difficulties, of temptations, have been, and will always be unable to sever those sacred ties, which bind the Israelites, individually and collectively to their Father in heaven. If, then, our regret cannot rebuild the temple, it will keep the religion of our forefathers alive and active in our hearts; if our sorrow cannot reunite the nation in *one* land, it will at least link together the hearts of all believers, be they ever so far separated by oceans, by deserts, by the eternal snows of the pole, or the burning sand of Africa's inhospitable clime. . . .

Let us then, brethren, unite from year to year, whilst we live

in foreign lands, to pay the patriot's tribute, the exile's tear, to the deserted home of our ancestors. . . . Let us therefore all be united in our regret, and let us never forget that we, as descendants of Israel, have a temple to weep for, and a conquered and oppressed people to bemoan; but whilst thus mourning, let us not waver in our hopes nor despair of God's goodness, even if our career on earth be closed before the promised salvation approaches.

CLXVIII

Palestinian Messengers, 1833-1837

Despite the efforts of the leaders of the Jewish community of Amsterdam in Holland to rationalize requests for aid to the Jews in Palestine by organizing a relief society, with branches in every land through which collections might be made and funds apportioned according to the merits of the projects for which help was asked, the old anarchic system of solicitation by individual "messengers" persisted. Enoch Zundel,⁴⁸ the subject of the letters printed below, was one of these agents.⁴⁹ He stayed in the United States for quite some time, moving from city to city, carrying letters of introduction from prominent members of the congregation in one city to Jewish leaders in the next. The object for which he was making a collection, it appears from the third letter in this group, from the Amsterdam communal leaders to the officers and trustees of Mikveh Israel, was the building of a new synagogue, one that the Dutch disbursing agents considered unnecessary.

319. MORDECAI M. NOAH TO
ZALEGMAN PHILLIPS,⁵⁰ 1833⁵¹

New York 13 April 1833

Dear Sir, Rabbi Zundal a missionary from Jerusalem has been with us nearly a year and in conformity with his instructions proceeds to Philada to receive whatever aid the Congregation in that City may please to afford The Rabbi is a learned and intelligent man and his conduct and deportment is that of a gentleman I should be happy to learn that he has succeeded & beg you to give him the names of such of the Congregation disposed to aid him & shew him any civilities in your power I am Dear Sir very truly yrs

M M Noah

Z. Phillips Esq.

320. NAPHTALI PHILLIPS⁵² TO
ZALEGMAN PHILLIPS, 1833⁵³

Dear Brother, This will be handed to you by the very learned and respectable Hachem Rabbi Enoch Zundell, who has remained with us about ten months, and it affords me much pleasure to bear testimony to his conduct in this City, which has been that of piety, and gentleman like manners: few have arrived in this Country more entitled to Our respect and I trust he may be successfull in his mission to Philada He is every way entitled to Confidence and respect. Your Afft Brother N. Phillips
N York 15 April 1833

321. A LETTER FROM AMSTERDAM, 1837⁵⁴

Amsterdam the 19 Ab 5597

To the Revd Parnassim & Elders of the Israelite-Portuguese Congregation Philadelphia.

We have the honour to refer to our respectfull of last 7th Tammus wherein we sent you 3 printed Epistels in the hebrew and french languages on the subject of the dreadfull disasters, our unhappy brethern in the holy land were subject to. We hope that this afflicting, but alas! but too true relation of their sufferings will have awaked the sympathies of all the members of your congregation, and for the purpose of rendering these unfortunate news as notorious as possible, we take the liberty of inclosing herewith 3 Epistels in the german language, wishing that it may be usefull to our unhappy brethern with those of your members who are of german origin.

We profit of this occasion, most honoured gentlemen, to repeat to you that we have taken the most corresponding disposition to render unnecessary the dispatch of [messengers] for the purpose of collecting benevolent contributions for the holy land, and to save the public from the abuses it has so often been subject to. All gifts for the holy land are received by us or our respective Gabbaim and transmitted in a secure way to their destination.

The advantages of these dispositions are too striking and have been so clearly exposed in our former Circularies, that we judge Superfluous to utter this subject any more.

It is now the intention of the german Congregation of Perusim in Jerusalem to build a new Synagogue, and—in spite to existing conventions—they have, as we are informed, dispatched such a messenger, called [R. Enoch Zundel], to collect gifts for this purpose. This Congregation possessing already a Synagogue, the Construction of a new one is of no urgency at all, and the moment of an enterprise of this kind is undoubtedly ill choiced.

CLXIX

Restoration of Jews and Indians, 1837

One of the romantic notions held by many Christians and a few Jews in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was that the American Indians were the descendants of the "lost ten tribes."⁵⁵ Many reasons, based upon simple philology and misinterpreted theology, were offered for this belief. Mordecai M. Noah embraced this view with his usual ardor. In a discourse on the subject, delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of New York⁵⁶ in 1837, Noah's peroration dealt with the restoration to Zion, and suggested that some of the Indians might be restored together with the Jews. It is clear, even in this brief discussion, that Noah has passed beyond the traditional view of a miraculous restoration to the Zionist position that the homeland must be rebuilt by human efforts; "Providence disposes of events, human agency must carry them out."

322. MORDECAI M. NOAH ON RESTORATION TO ZION, 1837⁵⁷

Firmly as I believe the American Indian to have been descended from the tribes of Israel, and that our continent is full of the most extraordinary vestiges of antiquity, there is one point, a religious as well as historical point, in which you may possibly continue to doubt, amidst almost convincing evidence.

If these are the remnants of the nine and a half tribes which were carried into Assyria, and if we are to believe in all the promises of the restoration, and the fulfilment of the prophecies, respecting the final advent of the Jewish nation, what is to become of these our red brethren, whom we are driving before us so rapidly, that a

century more will find them lingering on the borders of the Pacific ocean?

Possibly, the restoration may be near enough to include even a portion of these interesting people. Our learned Rabbis have always deemed it sinful to compute the period of the restoration; they believe that when the sins of the nation were atoned for, the miracle of their redemption would be manifested. My faith does not rest wholly in miracles. Providence disposes of events, human agency must carry them out. That benign and supreme power which the children of Israel had never forsaken, has protected the chosen people amidst the most appalling dangers, has saved them from the uplifted sword of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, and while the most powerful nations of antiquity have crumbled to pieces, we have been preserved, united and unbroken, the same now as we were in the days of the patriarchs—brought from darkness to light, from the early and rude periods of learning to the bright reality of civilization, of arts, of education and of science.

The Jewish people must now do something for themselves; they must move onward to the accomplishment of that great event long foretold, long promised, long expected; and when they do move, that mighty power which has for thousands of years rebuked the proscription and intolerance shown to the Jews, by a benign protection of the *whole* nation, will still cover them with his invincible standard.

My belief is, that Syria will revert to the Jewish nation by *purchase*, and that the facility exhibited in the accumulation of wealth, has been a providential and peculiar gift to enable them, at a proper time, to re-occupy their ancient possessions by the purse-string instead of the sword.

We live in a remarkable age, and political events are producing extraordinary changes among the nations of the earth.

Russia with its gigantic power continues to press hard on Turkey. The Pacha of Egypt, taking advantage of the improvements and inventions of men of genius, is extending his territory and influence to the straits of Bab el-mandeb on the Red sea, and to the borders of the Russian empire; and the combined force of Russia, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, seriously threaten the safety of British possessions

in the East Indies. An intermediate and balancing power is required to check this thirst of conquest and territorial possession, and to keep in check the advances of Russia in Turkey and Persia, and the ambition and love of conquest of Egypt. This can be done by restoring Syria to its rightful owners, not by revolution or blood, but as I have said, by the purchase of that territory from the Pacha of Egypt, for a sum of money too tempting in its amount for him to refuse, in the present reduced state of his coffers. Twelve or thirteen millions of dollars have been spoken of in reference to the cession of that interesting territory, a sum of no consideration to the Jews, for the good will and peaceable possession of the land, which to them is above all price. Under the co-operation and protection of England and France, this re-occupation of Syria within its old territorial limits, is at once reasonable and practicable.

By opening the ports of Damascus, Tripoli, Joppa, Acre, etc., the whole of the commerce of Turkey, Egypt, and the Mediterranean will be in the hands of those, who even now in part, control the commerce of Europe. From the Danube, the Dniester, the Ukraine, Wallachia and Moldavia, the best of agriculturalists would revive the former fertility of Palestine. Manufacturers from Germany and Holland; an army of experience and bravery from France and Italy; ingenuity, intelligence, activity, energy and enterprise from all parts of the world, would, under a just, a tolerant and a liberal government, present a formidable barrier to the encroachments of surrounding powers, and be a bulwark to the interests of England and France, as well as the rising liberties of Greece.

Once again unfurl the standard of Judah on Mount Zion, the four corners of the earth will give up the chosen people as the sea will give up its dead, at the sound of the last trumpet. Let the cry be Jerusalem, as it was in the days of the Saracen and the lion-hearted Richard of England, and the rags and wretchedness which have for eighteen centuries enveloped the persons of the Jews, crushed as they were by persecution and injustice, will fall to the earth; and they will stand forth, the richest, the most powerful, the most intelligent nation on the face of the globe, with incalculable wealth, and holding in pledge the crowns and sceptres of kings. Placed in possession of their ancient heritage by and with the consent and co-operation of their Christian brethren, establishing a government

of peace and good will on earth, it may then be said, behold the fulfilment of prediction and prophecy: behold the chosen and favoured people of Almighty God, who, in defence of his unity and omnipotence, have been the outcast and proscribed of all nations, and who for thousands of years have patiently endured the severest of human sufferings, in the hope of that great advent of which they have never despaired: and then when taking their rank once more among the nations of the earth, with the good wishes and affectionate regards of the great family of mankind, they may by their tolerance, their good faith, their charity and enlarged liberal views, merit what has been said in their behalf by inspired writers, "Blessed are they who bless Israel."

CLXX

First Official Report on the Damascus Affair, 1840

When the ancient blood libel was raised against the Jews of Damascus in February, 1840, the American consular representative in Syria was a Macedonian named Jasper Chasseaud.⁵⁸ The letter reprinted below, from Chasseaud to John Forsyth,⁵⁹ then Secretary of State, was the first official notice of what was happening in Syria that was received in the United States. Chasseaud's report gullibly and almost gleefully accepted the official account, which was, from the very beginning, also supported by the French representative in Syria. With Chasseaud's letter there arrived an appendix of French translations from a Latin book of the eighteenth century, supposedly of passages from the Talmud, designed to show Jewish opposition to Christianity.⁶⁰

323. JASPER CHASSEAUD TO JOHN FORSYTH, 1840⁶¹

*United States Consulate
Beyrout 24th March 1840*

Sir,

I have the Honor to relate briefly for Your Honours consideration some details of a most Barbarous secret, for a long time suspected in the Jewish Nation, which at last came to light in the City of Damascus, that of serving themselves of Christian Blood in their unleavened Bread at Easter, a Secret which in these 1840 Years must have made many unfortunate victims.

On the 5th of February last the Revd Capouchin Thomas president of the Catholic Church of Damascus—together with his Servant having, all of a sudden disappeared from that City H. E. Sherif

pashaw Governor General of Syria and the French Consul of Damascus employed actively the pollice for making all strict inquiries after them, and some people having declared to have seen that priest and his servant enter on that evening in the Jews quarter, the suspicions of Government fall on the Jews, that they might have assassinated them.

On that day Revd Thomas had put up against the wall of a Jew Barbers shop, a written advertisement for some Articles to be sold by Auction, and was observed that the said advertisement had been removed from its place and put up again with different Wafers than those used by the priest. The Jew Barber was questioned and taken into prison, and after the application of some torments on his person he confessed that the Revd Thomas had been beheaded in the house of David Arari a rich Jew, by Seven of his coreligioners of Damascus, and that, in order to take his Blood, it being ordered by their religion to make use of Christian Blood in their Unleavened Bread at Easter.

The Seven Jews thus accused, as well as all their high Priests; 64 Children, belonging to those families, and all their Butchers were immediately taken to prison, and after severe Tortures and threats several of them confessed also the fact of the murder, adding that they had since cut the body in small pieces and threw it in a Canal, after collecting all the Blood in a large Bottle for religious purposes, which Bottle they had given to their high Priest. The Pashaw and the french Consul accompanied by Massons and a multitude of People went immediately to the spot, and having searched, they found in reality the Revd Thomas's body all cut in small bits, which were put in a Pinn Box and burried with a grand Prossession in the Church.

The torments on the prisoners having continued, some of them confessed that the Servant also had been beheaded in the house of another jew, his Blood taken to the last drop, and his body cut in the same way like that of the Priest was thrown in another Canal. The Pashaw and the french Consul repared to the place and found that body also in pieces together with three sharp knives. The Murderers of this last are not yet arrested they having made their escape from Damascus, but the Pollice is after them actively employ'd. The Bottle of Blood neither has been found as yet.

CLXXI

The Sympathetic Position of the Government of the United States, 1840

Both official agencies and the informed public in England were concerned to put a stop to the Damascus persecutions, partly, no doubt, from humanitarian motives, but also partly from motives of British imperial interest in the Near East.⁶² Public meetings were held and resolutions passed. The Jewish Board of Deputies, under the inspiring leadership of Sir Moses Montefiore,⁶³ found Lord Palmerston,⁶⁴ then Foreign Minister, ready to place the moral and diplomatic strength of Great Britain behind intervention. Between April and the end of June, 1840, a series of conferences and meetings bred the assurance that Great Britain and the Jews were seeking the same ends.

In mid-July, after the Lord Mayor of London had officially called the attention of the American Minister, Andrew Stevenson,⁶⁵ to the Resolutions passed at the great London public meeting on July 3, Stevenson transmitted the documents and information to John Forsyth, the American Secretary of State. Soon after receiving this information, the Secretary of State wrote the letters reprinted below, to the American Consul in Alexandria, John Gliddon,⁶⁶ and the American minister in Turkey, David Porter,⁶⁷ expressing in both the humanitarian concern of the government of the United States and its sympathetic position toward the persecuted Jews. Indirectly, these letters indicate the American Government's rejection of the interpretation of the Damascus Blood Accusation given by Jasper Chasseaud.

324. JOHN FORSYTH TO JOHN GLIDDON, 1840⁶⁸*August 14, 1840*

[John Gliddon, Esq.]

Sir:

In common with all civilized nations, the people of the United States have learned with horror, the atrocious crimes imputed to the Jews of Damascus, and the cruelties of which they have been the victims. The President⁶⁹ fully participates in the public feeling, and he cannot refrain from expressing equal surprise and pain, that in this advanced age, such unnatural practices should be ascribed to any portion of the religious world, and such barbarous measures be resorted to, in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt; the offences with which these unfortunate people are charged, resemble too much those which, in less enlightened times, were made the pretexts of fanatical persecution or mercenary extortion, to permit a doubt that they are equally unfounded.

The President has witnessed, with the most lively satisfaction, the effort of several of the Christian Governments of Europe, to suppress or mitigate these horrors, and he has learned with no common gratification, their partial success. He is moreover anxious that the active sympathy and generous interposition of the Government of the United States should not be withheld from so benevolent an object, and he has accordingly directed me to instruct you to employ, should the occasion arise, all those good offices and efforts which are compatible with discretion and your official character, to the end that justice and humanity may be extended to those persecuted people, whose cry of distress has reached our shores.

I am, sir, Your obedient servant, John Forsyth

325. JOHN FORSYTH TO DAVID PORTER, 1840⁷⁰*August 17, 1840*

David Porter Esq.

Sir,

In common with the people of the U. States, the President has learned with profound feeling of surprise and pain, the atrocious

cruelties which have been practised upon the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, in consequence of charges extravagant, & strikingly similar to those, which, in less enlightened ages, were made pretexts for the persecution and spoliation of these unfortunate people. As the scenes of these barbarities are in the Mahomedan dominions, and as such inhuman practices are not of infrequent occurrence in the East the President has directed me to instruct you to do everything in your power with the Government of his Imperial Highness, the Sultan to whom you are accredited, consistent with discretion and your diplomatic character, to prevent or mitigate these horrors, the bare recital of which has caused a shudder throughout the civilised world; and, in an especial manner to direct your philanthropic efforts against the employment of torture in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt. The President is of opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect, as from the Representative of a friendly power, whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshippers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jews, and the Christian, Should you in carrying out these instructions find it necessary or proper to address yourself to any of the Turkish authorities you will refer to this distinctive characteristic of our government, as investing with a peculiar propriety and right the interposition of your good offices in behalf of an oppressed and persecuted race among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. In communicating to you the wishes of the President I do not think it advisable to give you more explicit and minute instructions, but earnestly commend to your zeal and discretion a subject which appeals so strongly to the universal sentiments of justice and humanity.

I am, sir, yr: obt: svt:

J. Forsyth

CLXXII

The New York Meeting on Damascus, 1840

Only after all these events had taken place and when, without Jewish knowledge, the American State Department had already placed itself officially on record in favor of humanitarian intervention, did the first mass meeting of American Jews on the Damascus Affair take place. The meeting was held in New York City on August 19, 1840,⁷¹ and five days later the resolution passed at this meeting was transmitted to the President of the United States. The Secretary of State, in answer to this letter from New York, was able to reply that the American Government had taken action already.

326. JEWS OF NEW YORK CITY TO MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1840⁷²

To his Excellency, Martin Van Buren, President of the United States
Sir

At a meeting of the Israelites of the City of New York held on the 19th last for the purpose of uniting in an expression of sentiment on the subject of the persecutions of their Brethren in Damascus, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted "Resolved that a Letter be addressed to his Excellency the President of the United States respectfully requesting, that he will direct the Consuls of the United States in the Dominions of the Pasha of Egypt to co-operate with the Consuls or other agents accredited to the Pasha, in endeavoring to obtain a fair & impartial trial for our Brethren in Damascus"

In transmitting the same to your Excellency we beg leave to express what we are persuaded is the unanimous opinion of the Israelites throughout the Union, that you will cheerfully use every possible effort to induce the Pasha of Egypt to manifest more

liberal treatment towards his Jewish Subjects not only from the dictates of humanity but from the obvious policy and justice by which such a course is recommended by the tolerant spirit of the age in which we live

The Liberal & enlightened views in relation to matters of faith, which have distinguished our Government from its very inception to the present time have Secured the sincere gratitude and kind regard of the Members of all religious denominations and we trust that the efforts of your Excellency in this behalf will serve to render yet more grateful & to impress more fully on the minds of the Citizens of the United States, the Kindness and liberality of that Government under which they live

With the best wishes of those in whose behalf we address you, for your health & happiness and for the glory & honor of our common Country We have the honor to be Your Excellency's Obedient Servants

I B Kursheedt ⁷³ Chairman &c
Theodore J. Seixas ⁷⁴ Secy. &c

Dated, New York Augt. 24. 1840

327. JOHN FORSYTH TO
JEWS OF NEW YORK, 1840 ⁷⁵

Department of State
W. 26th August, 1840

Messrs. I. B. Kursheedt, Chairman
& Theodore J. Seixas Secretary &c
Gentlemen:

The President has referred to this Department your letter of the 24th. instant, communicating a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of Israelites in the City of New York, held for the purpose of uniting in an expression of sentiment on the subject of the persecution of their brethren in Damascus. By his directions I have the honor to inform you, that the heart rending scenes, which took place at Damascus had previously been brought to the notice of the President, by a communication from our Consul ⁷⁶ at that place, and, that, in consequence thereof, a letter of instructions was immediately written to our Consul at Alexandria,⁷⁷ a copy of which is

herewith transmitted for your Satisfaction. About the same time our Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople⁷⁸ was instructed to interpose his good offices in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted race of the Jews, in the Ottoman dominions, among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our own citizens, and the whole subject, which appeals so strongly to the universal sentiments of justice and humanity was earnestly recommended to his zeal and discretion.

I am &c. Signed

John Forsyth

CLXXIII

Report on the Philadelphia Meeting, 1840

The action of the Jewish leaders of the New York community in calling a public meeting of the Jews seemed to break through a barrier. Within about two weeks, public meetings were held in Philadelphia (August 27), Charleston (August 29), Cincinnati (August 31), Savannah (September 3), and Richmond (September 4). Little as these meetings may have influenced the fate of the Jews of Damascus, it seems impossible to deny that they influenced the future of the Jews in the United States. For, quite suddenly and without forewarning, the 15,000 American Jews appear to have realized their own latent powers and the unity that underlay their differences of ethnic origin. The report of the Damascus protest meeting at Philadelphia, from which extracts are given below, shows how this sense of community emerged in one Jewish group in America. It is also noteworthy that this meeting appointed a committee of correspondence to keep abreast of what other Jewish communities in the United States were doing about the Damascus Affair. This must be regarded as one of the first indications that the Jews of America were beginning to regard themselves as a national unity.

328. PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE EAST, 1840⁷⁹

In pursuance of public notice, a very numerous and respectable meeting of the Israelites resident at Philadelphia was held at the Portuguese Synagogue, on Thursday evening, 28th day of Ab, 5600, (27th August, 1840), to express their sympathy for their suffering brethren in Damascus, and to co-operate with their brethren in other parts of the world to ameliorate their situation. The Evening Serv-

ice having been read, the meeting was called to order by Hyman Gratz, Esq. who nominated the following gentlemen for officers: . . .⁸⁰

The meeting was opened by Mr. Abraham Hart,⁸¹ as follows:

Mr. Chairman, As one of the individuals who recommended a meeting of the Israelites to be held this evening, I beg to state the object for which we have assembled.

It is for the purpose of expressing our views relative to the base calumny invented against our nation, and to devise a plan of co-operation with our brethren in Europe, for the relief of our persecuted and unhappy fellow-creatures in Damascus, and to express our sentiments of sympathy for the late unwarranted, cruel, and barbarous massacre. Also, to request our Consul, residing in the Pacha of Egypt's dominions, to exert all his influence, in conjunction with the representatives from the Old World, in affording them a trial before an unprejudiced tribunal.

It is due to the Jews residing in Philadelphia to state, that a meeting was intended to be held on this subject at a much earlier date, but owing to the absence from the city of the worthy and highly respected presiding officer of this synagogue, it was postponed till this evening; and I think I can assert, that from the numerous assemblage which I see convened in this house of devotion, that their sympathies for our oppressed brethren have increased, rather than suffered any diminution, from the delay. . . .⁸²

Let it not be supposed that the letter I have just read is a fancied picture, a mere imagination of the brain, no sir, it is persecution as it now exists in the East. But will it stop there, unless by exertions of this and other meetings the facts be disproved; unless it be shown that these accusations are not true, cannot be true, such things being incompatible with our sacred and holy religion?

If such a calumny is not nipped in the bud, its effect will not be limited to any particular place, but will be extended to every part of the globe. . . .

It is well known that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Jews were accused in Europe of crimes equally as atrocious as that now brought against the Jews of Damascus, and from *similar motives*, a desire to *possess their estates*, and a hatred to their *religion from bigotry*. In such times it was not to be wondered at;

but it is almost incredible that in these enlightened times, a man who represents the French nation in the East, should be found guilty of having the innocent Jews subjected to the torture, and that too without any evidence. Had he not lent his aid, these barbarous cruelties would never have been inflicted on our brethren. —It has been asked by many what benefit can we in America bestow on our brethren who are suffering at such a distance from us? Can there be any one who doubts or disbelieves that the free expression of opinion and outpouring of sympathy, from those who reside in a country where every one acts and speaks as his judgment and conscience dictates, will tend greatly to inspire confidence in the sufferers, and to strike terror into their persecutors? Tyrants are ever cowards, and though the evils we are now noticing may not be wholly suppressed, yet let us hope, and we may do so with confidence, that the expressions of disgust and horror which have proceeded from every portion of the civilized world, and particularly from the United States, the only land of entire freedom, will operate, as it ought, speedily; eventually it must.

The Rev. Isaac Leeser then addressed the meeting: "Let us from the midst of our thankfulness to God for having blessed us so much more than we deserve, express our sympathy for those who suffer elsewhere; those who, with us, are descended from the stock of the Patriarchs. But what need is there for this appeal? Around me are those who have assembled for no other purpose than to express, in language not to be misunderstood, that they feel for their brothers who languish under the cruel bondage of oppression; that every cry of anguish uttered by their fellow-believers elsewhere, touches a sympathetic chord in their own hearts. O, this is a soothing reflection! we have no country of our own; we have no longer a united government, under the shadow of which we can live securely; but we have a tie yet holier than a fatherland, a patriotism stronger than the community of one government; our tie is a sincere brotherly love, our patriotism is the affection which unites the Israelite of one land to that of another. As citizens, we belong to the country we live in; but as believers in one God, as the faithful adorers of the Creator, as the inheritors of the law, the Jews of England, and Russia, and Sweden, are no aliens among us, and we hail the Israelite as a brother, no matter if his home be the torrid

zone, or where the poles encircle the earth with the impenetrable fetters of icy coldness. We have therefore met for the purpose of expressing our abhorrence of the calumny cast on our religion in another part of the world, and to offer our aid, in conjunction with our brothers in other towns both of this country and elsewhere, to those who have been subjected to such unmerited barbarities. Perhaps the united voice of all the professors of our blessed religion may reach the ears of the potentates of the earth; perhaps public attention may be roused to the wrongs we have so long suffered, and all acknowledge that our system is one of love and peace, and that it is an essential point with us to do our duty to the state no less than to observe the divine commands. If this should be the case, if those differing from us would grant us everywhere an equality of rights not as apostates from, but as adherents to, our ancient religion: then indeed will the martyrs at Damascus not have suffered in vain, for their sorrows would then bring peace to Israel. Now, Mr. Chairman, is this hoping for too much? I hardly think so. Already the transaction which we deplore has raised up advocates for us among our Christian friends; and if the name of Ratti-Menton will live in the disgrace which he so well merits, the generous Mr. Merlato at Damascus, and Mr. Laurin at Alexandria, who there represent the Emperor of Austria, will be remembered with gratitude for their unsolicited exertions in our behalf. In England, too, the subject has awakened attention, and one of its great minds, who formerly opposed our admission to equal rights, the renowned Sir Robert Peel,⁸³ has already thought proper to mention the case of the sufferers in parliament, with every demonstration that he too feels that a great wrong has been done to an innocent people. There too has been an O'Connell,⁸⁴ a Noel,⁸⁵ a Thompson,⁸⁶ and many others, to speak in our behalf; and doubtlessly in this land too, perhaps in this city, men will step forward to vindicate the rights of man outraged in the persons of the Jews at Damascus. Perhaps a voice too loud to remain unheeded may be raised against the use of torture in trials, and that the Pacha of Egypt, in whose dominions are Damascus and Jerusalem, may be induced to abolish it altogether; and so not we alone, but all the inhabitants of the earth, may have cause to rejoice at the present movement in which we are engaged, though sorrow was its first

promoter. And why should the case of the Jews be less attended to than that of the Greeks? When the sons of ancient Hellas broke the chains of the Ottoman power, all Europe and America was awakened in their behalf; but have they any greater claim upon the sympathy of the world than we have? We admit that the Greeks may have been the fathers of architecture, of painting, of sculpture, and of tragic poetry; but the world is indebted to us far more, for a gift far nobler, for the possession of the Decalogue, for the word of God, the holy and precious Bible, the book more venerable than all books, the parent of a pure belief, the foundation of true human happiness, of religion without bigotry, of liberty without licentiousness.

"Another happy effect has already resulted from the same cause; it has awakened anew the spirit of brotherly love among us, and we have had an opportunity of experiencing that oceans may intervene between our dispersed remnants, that mountains may divide us, but that yet the Israelite is ever alive to the welfare of his distant brother, and sorrows with his sorrow, and rejoices in his joy. The times also have produced spirits adequate to the emergency, and a Cremieux⁸⁷ of Paris, and a Montefiore of London will be long remembered as the generous active friends of their people, who nobly volunteered to plead the cause of their brothers in distant lands. Let us trust that the Lord may prosper their way, and bring them back to their families after the happy termination of their mission of love. . . .

"With your permission, I will now offer a preamble and a series of resolutions for the approval of this meeting:

Preamble.

"The Israelites residing in Philadelphia, in common with those of other places, have heard with the deepest sorrow, that in this enlightened age the absurd charge of their requiring human blood, at the celebration of their Passover, has been revived, and that an accusation of this nature having been brought against their brethren at Damascus and the Island of Rhodes, has been the cause of a most cruel persecution being waged against them, by order of the Musselman authorities, instigated, as it is feared, by one or more of the European residents.

"They have learned also, with unfeigned horror, that several

prominent men at Damascus have been seized by their ruthless persecutors, and tortured till some confessed themselves guilty of a crime which they never committed; and others died under the most exquisite barbarities, which ignorant bigotry, urged by the love of plunder and hatred of the Jewish name, could invent.

"Although the Israelites of Philadelphia, living in a land where, under the blessing of Providence, equality of civil and religious rights so eminently prevails, are not in any danger of persecution for opinion's sake: still they cannot rest while so foul a blot is cast upon their ancient and sacred faith, a faith on which both the Christian and Mahomedan religions are founded, and which is essentially a law of justice, of mercy, and benevolence; and they would deem themselves traitors to brotherly love and the rights of outraged humanity, were they to withhold their expression of sympathy for their suffering brethren, who writhe under unmerited tortures, and languish in loathsome dungeons, and to offer their aid, if practicable, to have impartial justice administered to them upon the present and any future occasion. The Israelites of Philadelphia have therefore met in public meeting, and

"Resolved, That they experience the deepest emotions of sympathy for the sufferings endured by their fellows in faith at Damascus and Rhodes, under the tortures and injuries inflicted upon them by merciless and savage persecutors; and that, while they mourn for those upon whom such cruel enormities have been heaped, they cannot but admire the fortitude evinced by many of the sufferers, who preferred enduring every torture rather than subscribing to the falsehoods dictated by their vindictive enemies.

"Resolved, That the crime charged upon the Israelites at Damascus, of using Christian blood for their festival of redemption from Egypt, is utterly at variance with the express injunction of the Decalogue and other parts of the Pentateuch, and incompatible with the principles inculcated by the religion they profess, which enjoins them to 'love their neighbour as themselves,' and 'to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God.'

"Resolved, That they will co-operate with their brethren elsewhere in affording pecuniary aid, if required, to relieve the victims of this unholy persecution, and to unite in such other measures as may be devised to mitigate their sufferings.

“Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be accorded to the consuls of those European powers, who made efforts to stay the arm of persecution, and who by this deed deserve well of the cause of suffering humanity.

“Resolved, That this meeting highly appreciates the prompt and energetic measures adopted by our brethren in Europe, and elsewhere, for the promotion of the object of this meeting, and the noble undertaking of Monsieur Cremieux and Sir Moses Montifore[sic], in coming forward not only as the champions of the oppressed, but also as the defenders of the Jewish nation; and this meeting expresses the hope that the God of Israel will shield and protect them, and restore them to their families in the enjoyment of unimpaired health.”

The foregoing preamble and resolutions having been read, were unanimously adopted.

CLXXIV

Christian Concern about Damascus, 1840

In addition to the widespread Jewish activity looking to end the Damascus persecution, there was considerable feeling among the Christians of the United States that this affair represented a throw-back to an age of less enlightenment. The eagerness of American Christians to dissociate themselves from this resurgent medievalism was expressed in various ways. In Philadelphia, for instance, the Episcopalian Henry W. Ducachet,⁸⁸ rector of St. Stephen's Church, wrote the letter below, expressing his regret that the meeting was called for "none but Israelites," and then, with several other Christian clergymen, attended the meeting and made a brief speech. The Christian citizens of Charleston went even farther; under the leadership of Mayor Henry L. Pinckney,⁸⁹ a general meeting of the citizens to protest the persecution of the Jews "in the East" was held on August 28, 1840, the night before the Jewish public meeting was held. Among the speakers were the Right Reverend John England,⁹⁰ Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, and other Christian ministers, as well as some of the outstanding political figures of the city. It was, of course, to be expected that the Christian concern would be expressed in terms of a broad humanitarianism rather than of specific interest in the Jews.

329. HENRY W. DUCACHET TO
HYMAN GRATZ, 1840⁹¹

Philadelphia, August 21, 1840

Dear Sir,

I learn from the papers of this morning, that a meeting of your people is to be held at the Synagogue, next week, to take into con-

sideration the sufferings of the unhappy Israelites in the East. As the call is intended for none but Israelites, there will of course be no Christians there. Had it been general, I have no doubt their attendance would have been very large. However, perhaps it is best that the first movement in the matter should be made among yourselves. As I shall not be present when you meet, I write this to assure you of my deep sympathy in the sufferings of your persecuted brethren, and of my hearty wishes for the speedy termination of their calamities.

I can speak for myself only with certainty; but I feel persuaded that the Christian community generally, and the Christian clergy especially, will gladly and generously co-operate with you in any plan you may adopt for their relief. As it regards myself, allow me to say, that if it should be thought by you necessary to resort to any aid beyond what you yourselves can give, I will most cheerfully bring the case before my congregation, plead their cause before that kind-hearted and generous people, and obtain from them all the assistance which they can give. I would not have obtruded this communication upon you, but that I thought it possible you might have some delicacy about applying to your Christian friends for their co-operation, unless some intimation were given that your appeal would be gladly and promptly responded to by some at least. It is not, sir, the cause of the *Jews* only you are about to espouse: it is the cause of humanity. And, in reference as well to their deliverance from almost unheard of sufferings, as to their spiritual condition, I, as a Christian, can truly adopt the language of one of the noblest of the apostles of your faith, and say, "My heart's desire and prayers to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved."

With assurance of my sincere interest in the case of the afflicted descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (a noble ancestry), and with the offering of my personal consideration for yourself and the other gentlemen of your Committee, I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your friend and servant,

Henry W. Ducachet,
Rector of St. Stephen's Church

To Hyman Gratz, Esq.

330. RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY
THE CITIZENS OF CHARLESTON, 1840⁹²*Preamble:*

The Citizens of Charleston having heard with great regret of the persecutions of the Israelites of Damascus and Rhodes, have assembled in Public Meeting to offer their sympathy for the sufferers, and to express their abhorrence of a series of acts which appear to have originated in bigotry and intolerance, and to have resulted in barbarities totally repugnant to the humanity and civilization of the age.

It becomes the solemn duty of all nations blessed with the enjoyment of Civil and Religious Liberty, to raise their voices against such cruelties, to remonstrate against their repetition, and to invoke the aid of public opinion every where for their suppression.

The use of torture is abhorrent to the humanizing principles of the nineteenth century. Its application to a quiet and inoffensive people, who are thus divested of the guardianship of the Law, should meet with the marked reprobation of all who regard the protection of personal rights as among the sacred duties of the civil authority, as it is among the obligations of immutable justice. Therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting has heard with emotions of horror, of the cruelties which have been inflicted on the Jews of the East, and express its sympathy in their behalf.

Resolved, That this meeting conceives it proper to express its abhorrence of the use of torture, with the intent to extort confessions from those suffering under its application, and its disbelief in the confessions thus extorted.

Resolved, That this meeting is satisfied from careful investigation, that such practices as have been imputed to the Eastern Jews, and made the foundation of the persecutions and cruelties to which they have been subjected, not only form no part of their religious ceremonies, but are utterly repugnant thereto; nor can it perceive that there is any evidence adduced of the atrocious crime with which they have been charged.

Resolved, That this meeting, speaking in behalf of the principles

of Civil and Religious Liberty, cannot but earnestly hope that the benefits of impartial trial in all cases involving life, liberty, and character, may be awarded the Jews of the East, and trust that the diffusion of more enlightened views of religious duty and civil obligation may result in their speedy amelioration and deliverance from oppression.

Resolved, That copies of the above Resolutions be transmitted by the Chairman to the President of the United States, with a respectful request that they be sent to the Representatives of Foreign Powers resident in this country, and to our representatives at Foreign Courts.

CLXXV

Meeting of the Israelites of Charleston, 1840

On the 29th of August, 1840, one day after the general meeting of citizens of Charleston, a meeting of Charleston's Jews was held in the hall of the Hebrew Orphan Society. J. C. Levy,⁹³ acted as chairman and Abram Moise, Jr.,⁹⁴ as secretary. Extracts from the proceedings of this meeting are reproduced below. The meeting also voted a set of resolutions, sent with an accompanying letter, to the President of the United States. It was also suggested, at this meeting in Charleston, that a continuing committee should be appointed to keep in touch with what other Jewish communities in the United States were doing on the Damascus Affair. Although a committee of seven members was named, there is no evidence to show that it was ever active.

331. REPORT OF THE CHARLESTON MEETING, 1840⁹⁵

A meeting of the Israelites of Charleston, was convened on Saturday Evening last, at the Hall of the Hebrew Orphan Society, in Broad street, for the purpose of taking into consideration the situation of their suffering and persecuted brethren in Damascus and Rhodes, and was the most interesting, as it was the most numerous assemblage of Israelites ever united in this city.

The meeting was organized by appointing J. C. Levy, Esq. Chairman, and A. Moise, Jun., Secretary.

The Chairman, upon taking his seat, rose and spoke in substance as follows: . . .

On the vantage ground of safety, we could overlook the horizon, and in such countries they were yet treading on a spent, but smoking volcano, that might again rage with the fury of the middle ages,

and at best it was a cold truce, unlike the warm alliance that progressively appeared to exist in countries enjoying free and popular governments. He confessed his fears for the future had not subsided, for the incitement of avarice or pillage, the real cause of these tortures, was very strong among rulers, who also live by plunder. He was glad to learn, from a good source, that the leading powers of Europe, both Austria and England, had interfered to put an end to this disgrace of the nineteenth century. He continued, The moral force of Europe, and our own country, would go a great way in giving security of life, at least, to suffering and calumniated Israel; and humanity concurred with policy that these horrors might be stopped, for what affected Hebrews today, in such countries, might be equally fatal to Christians at another time. . . .

J. N. Cardozo,⁹⁶ Esq. then took the floor, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, The occasion which has assembled together so large and respectable a body of Israelites as I behold surrounding me this evening, is one of intense and all pervading interest to the Jewish people. It will be unnecessary, sir, to dilate at length on the event by which it has been produced. All Europe—the whole civilized world—has rung with the barbarities, the almost unspeakable cruelties, of the fanatical communities of Damascus and Rhodes, towards the Israelites of those cities. Other generations of men will read the record of these atrocities with mingled emotions of horror, amazement and indignation. It will form the blackest page of history in the nineteenth century. The occasion, therefore, calls for a manifestation of sincere sorrow and profound sympathy for the wrongs and sufferings of our persecuted brethren of the East, for deep detestation of the barbarous cruelties to which they have been subjected. These atrocities call, sir, for more than this. They demand an expression of public opinion co-extensive with the length and breadth of this republican land, from every division of our common country, and each section of the American people, who respect and revere those principles of toleration and civil liberty that constitute the safeguards of personal rights. This opinion, sir, should find its echo in the region of the oppressor, throughout that land which most unfortunately has become the abode and resting place of these persecuted Israelites, and the wretches who are deaf to the cries of afflicted and tortured humanity, who are dead to all its nobler impulses,

be made to feel the force of public sentiment in civilized Europe, and free, liberal, and tolerant America.

Fortunately for us, sir, we do live in a community which will respond to the calls of suffering humanity, that has the moral courage to denounce such barbarous practices, and to hold them up to general horror and execration. Armed, sir, with this opinion, flowing from a source whose purity does not admit of question, our cause is irresistible. The public meeting held in this city yesterday, afforded a proud, aye, a gratifying evidence, that such atrocities cannot be perpetrated, and not meet the rebuke of humane and honorable men; that we are members of a community which will come to the rescue of outraged human nature; who will stand forth in the face of the civilized world, as vindicators of the principles of universal toleration. And, sir, it is not the least gratifying of these testimonials to the ascendancy of liberal principles in our country, in our city, that the Roman Catholic prelate, the Presbyterian minister, and the Baptist clergyman, unsought, unsolicited, without concert or combination, have voluntarily entered the arena of public discussion, as the advocates of those principles. More than this, sir, that the clergy of almost every denomination in our city, appeared on that scene, presenting the most beautiful of moral spectacles, to lend their countenance and sanction to the objects of the meeting. We owe our warm acknowledgments, therefore, for that manifestation, this voluntary vindication of our cause and people, this unbought homage to truth and toleration, and to the integrity and purity of our ancient faith. This was indeed, sir, the climax of our triumph, the crowning grace of this moral victory; and I am sure no Israelite within the sound of my voice, no descendant of an Israelite, who will look back, now and hereafter, on this triumph of truth over prejudice; this victory of liberality over intolerance; with any other than feelings of gratified pride, and the most exulting recollections. . . .

Aaron Moise, Sen.⁹⁷ Esq., rose to second the resolutions, and to give them his hearty support. We are able to give but a small portion of his remarks.

He said that since he had heard of the merciless and sanguinary persecution of his Hebrew brethren in the East, that his spirits had sunk into deep depression under the revolting cruelties that had been there inflicted, he felt that the pure and holy religion of his

fathers had been aspersed and slandered, that its faithful followers were bleeding, suffering and perishing under the infliction of tortures, which refined upon the enormities of the Inquisition itself, and that all this was perpetrated in this boasted era of enlightenment and civilization, in the very eye of civilized Europe! How then could he express the emotions which filled his bosom, when he contemplated the spectacle which our City Hall presented, when our fellow citizens of all classes and denominations united, to vindicate the principles of liberty and humanity. When he heard the eloquent appeals, the kindly sympathy there expressed in behalf of his people, he felt as if a load was removed from his heart. He saw that the people of Charleston had shown practically what they understand by equality of rights and true liberality. That they were consistent with their proverbial generosity and virtue. That as they had cheered the inhabitants of classic Greece, unfortunate, martyred, chivalric Poland in her struggles for freedom, that as they had hailed Texas in her resistance to tyranny, and Ireland, when she struck her triumphant blow for emancipation, they were now ready to raise their voices in behalf of wounded Israel. . . .

Abraham Moise, Sen.⁹⁸ Esq., said that as an American citizen, and an Israelite of South-Carolina, he could not suppress the emotions that animated his bosom after the public manifestations of feeling so recently exhibited in the city of London, and the city of Charleston, twin sisters in the great cause of suffering humanity. He rejoiced to think and to know that the land of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson and Hancock, had not been outdone by the land of Newton and Shakespeare, of Milton and Dryden. He was still further rejoiced to find that the people of the United States, and more particularly the citizens of his native city, had been the first in the new world to stand forth in defence of principles so dearly cherished by freemen, so essential to the preservation of the eternal and immutable principles of justice.

Mr. M. said he did not think the question before the meeting was one exclusively to be confined to the Israelites of Damascus and Rhodes, and the rest of their brethren throughout the world; it seemed to him to be a question interesting to the whole human family, one that came home to the business and bosoms of all men. What was it, he asked, but the great question that first set the ball

of Revolution in motion? Was it not the question that drove the Huguenots out of France? Was it not the question that brought the Puritans to lay their sacred consecrated bones on the soil of freedom? Was it not the question that agitated Ireland, that opened the wounds of Poland, unhappy Poland! In one word was it not the great question so admirably settled in the noble link which kept us together as a people, the Constitution of the United States of America? Was it not a vital stab to that great human privilege, which secured to all mankind forever, the right to worship God, according to the dictates of conscience?

332. J. C. LEVY TO
MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1840⁹⁹

Charleston 1st September 1840

Martin Van Buren Esq
President of the U. States

Sir

In respectfully submitting to the first Magistrate of our country, the proceedings of a numerous and respectable Body of Hebrew Citizens, acting in connexion with a public Meeting held by the people of this City, on the subject of the persecutions of Damascus and Rhodes; I am sensible that public duty will be quickened by private sympathy; and that the efforts of civilized Europe, in the protection of a suffering, inoffensive and calumniated Race, will find a ready effective and moral support from our country, as far as is consistent with public obligations.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully Yr. mo. obed.

J. C. Levy
Chairman

Whereas, the Israelites of Charleston, now assembled having deemed it proper not to mingle their feelings and sentiments with the deliberations of the general meeting held by their fellow citizens, so that the expressions of public opinion might remain entire, unmixed, and free from the sympathies and impulses of those who in some degree claim kindred to the unfortunate victims of Oriental barbarity; and whereas, it would be doing great injustice to the

feelings that fill the bosom of every Hebrew, not publicly to manifest the profound and deep interest they take in the expression of public sentiment, the spontaneous sentiment of freedom and civilization. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Israelites of Charleston, view the manifestation of feeling exhibited by their fellow citizens, in behalf of the principles of humanity and justice, with *unqualified* applause.

Resolved, That as citizens of South-Carolina, their admiration is mingled with just pride, to find their beloved city, the first on this continent in thus vindicating the cause of justice and humanity towards their brethren suffering the extremity of Eastern cruelty; and that such expression, so worthy the American character, illustrates the true nature of our institutions.

Resolved, That the calumnies charged against the principles of their holy religion, are calculated to impose on the credulity, ignorance and darkness of eras like the middle ages; but that this meeting will not insult the intelligent community around them, by answering the falsehood of mixing human blood with the paschal bread; such inhuman crimes being abhorrent to all laws, divine and human.

Resolved, That this meeting fully appreciates and sincerely applauds the principles maintained, the ability shown, and the efforts made by his Honor the Mayor, and those gentlemen who participated so ably and eloquently in support of the cause of justice, against Eastern persecution; which, while it now affects the Hebrew, may another time prove equally fatal to other denominations—and that the several addresses delivered on this interesting occasion, be respectfully requested for publication.

Resolved, That this meeting feels grateful for the zealous mission and devotion of Sir Moses Montifiore [sic], aided by M. Cremieux, and Doctor Madden;¹⁰⁰ and that it fully appreciates and sincerely applauds the energetic efforts of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, and other distinguished men in England, to use the influence of Great Britain in aid of the cause of suffering humanity.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, with a request that they be sent to the Resident Ministers of Foreign Courts in the United States, and our Ministers at those Courts.

[*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to confer with the Richmond Committee, and others, in relation to the objects of this meeting.] ¹⁰¹

J. C. Levy
Chairman

Certified Copy of the Preamble and Resolutions, as witness my hand.

A. Moise Junr
Secretary

CLXXVI

The Richmond Meeting, 1840

The only Richmond meeting on the Damascus Affair for which we have documentary evidence took place on September 4, 1840, and led to the sending of the letter reprinted below. Yet there must have been an earlier meeting, perhaps of an organizing committee, and this earlier meeting must, in some fashion, have communicated with other Jewish communities. For, at the Philadelphia meeting on August 27, we learn, "Lewis Allen,¹⁰² Esq., laid before the meeting letters accompanying a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of our brethren in New York and Richmond, Virginia. . . ." ¹⁰³ At Charleston, too, we read, "*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to confer with the Richmond committee, and others, in relation to the objects of this meeting." It may well be that the suggestion of a semipermanent organized committee was first made by the Jews of Richmond.

333. THE RICHMOND COMMITTEE TO MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1840 ¹⁰⁴

Richmond, September 4, 1840

His excellency Martin VanBuren
President of the United States

Sir: In performing the duty assigned them under the annexed Resolution, it may well be supposed that it is with sentiments of the highest gratification, that the undersigned, in common with their brethren here and elsewhere, have recognized, in the voluntary act of the Chief Magistrate of this Great Republic, in behalf of the persecuted Jews of the East, an act alike honorable to him as an individual and as a high public functionary, and which assures to us his sympathy in whatever may hereafter be attempted or done toward extending to the ancient race of Israel, wherever dispersed, the

civil and religious privileges secured to us by the Constitution of this favored land.

Accept, Sir, from us and through us from the Israelites here, our heartfelt thanks for what you have done—thanks, which we are sensible can add but little to, but certainly will not subtract from, the feelings which your own approving conscience will suggest. We have the honr to be, Sir, With great respect, Yours,

A.H. Cohen,¹⁰⁵

G.A.Myers¹⁰⁷

Samuel Marx,¹⁰⁶

Samuel H. Myers,¹⁰⁸ *Committee*

CLXXVII

Through the Eyes of an Individual, 1840

Events taking place on the world stage have a sweep and a grandeur that tend to lead to our seeing them as abstractions. The flesh and blood people who took part in these events, who were affected by them, who reacted to them in human ways, elude our grasp, and what remains is large historical process. The coming to self-consciousness of the American Jewish community is just such an historical abstraction. The status of American Jewry under a liberal republican Constitution, the economic freedom of the Jews of America, their right to participate in the political and cultural life of the country and to maintain their own religious customs and institutions, the diverse European backgrounds from which Jews came to America and the dispersion in which they lived in the United States, as well as previous thought given by individuals and small groups to the problems of world Jewry, all contributed to the readiness of the Jews of the United States to realize their communal responsibilities when the need to do so was crystallized by the Damascus Affair.

Underlying all these generalities were men and women. It is fortunate that one of these, Rebecca Gratz,¹⁰⁹ left behind a record, in the form of a letter to Solomon Cohen,¹¹⁰ the husband of her niece, Miriam,¹¹¹ of her personal response to the Damascus Affair and the mobilizing of both European and American sentiment. It is especially interesting to note how, in this same letter, the newly-aroused sense of world Jewish unity contrasts sharply with an older provincialism, even parochialism, that could interpret the formation of a new synagogue in Philadelphia in terms of pride and passion rather than in terms of the differing needs of older and newer elements in Philadelphia's Jewish population. Finally, it is worthy of note that Rebecca Gratz's understanding of the epic events of 1840 was

shaped and dominated by a biblical and prophetic—more generally, a religious—attitude toward history. Through the eyes of a pious woman in 1840, the processes of history were seen as providential.

334. REBECCA GRATZ TO
SOLOMON COHEN, 1840¹¹²

October 4th 1840

Nothing but absolute necessity arising from duties that required my attention should have Kept me from immediately thanking you, my Dear Nephew for your delightful letter. I know your heart was interested in the thrilling news that engaged all our sympathy. and that your voice was raised in behalf of the oppressed and wronged captives of our unhappy race—every expression of such feelings is a grateful offering to the sufferers heart and will when they reach the prisoners ear prove a balm of Gilead to his wounded spirit, and enable him to endure more patiently, bondage & affliction.

It appears by late arrivals that Sir Moses Montefiore has not obtained his mission from the Pascha, that tho' he acceded to the request of Sir M. for an investigation into the affair he has not put him in possession of authority to pursue it, and that being satisfied with the punishment already inflicted he will cease from further barbarities; but justice, and protection from future outrages, are not likely to be obtained. I think with you that this is a remarkable era in Jewish history and much depends on themselves, whether it be for good or evil. the whole civilized world are interested in their cause (except France) and there too they have many friends, if they are wise and faithful to them selves. If they lay the admonitions of Moses to their hearts, if they listen to his affectionate & earnest pleading and choose "life and the good" who knows but God will return unto them and hasten the time of redemption. Yes My dear friend "coming events do cast their shadows before" and it is fitting that the Jews should "put on righteousness as a garment and seek the Lord with their whole hearts." There certainly seems to be a spirit of enquiry abroad & around us, reformations are talked about and some innovations made in different communities in Eng-

land & America. Whether these be sanctioned by the orthodox or not, they awaken a spirit of enquiry & elicit knowledge, bring many who were indifferent observers into the field of controversy and perhaps those who study old records to strengthen their own opinion may find mines of wisdom of which they had no previous idea and we shall see Modern Sauls among the prophets who are as little suspected of inspiration as was the first King of Israel.

In Phila we have now two Synagogues, it was at first thought that there was some pride and other unlawful (?) passions engaged in the elements of which the new congregation was composed, but by the exercise of a little prudence and accommodation the evil was crushed and now the holy spirit of religion, peace & friendship seem likely to unite all the house of Israel here into one bond of good faith. The Damascus persecution has fallen in a time to put down all petty strife and make us all desire to act & pray for the oppressed. May not this "partial evil prove a universal good"? or in the language of scripture "by their strife we may be healed." We are in the hands of God, who suffereth not a sparrow to fall but according to his will and yet in the occasions of his providence, great and terrible things come to pass on the earth.

I am sorry your modesty interdicts my reading your address to some of our friends, because it gave me so much pleasure that I should rejoice to impart it. Indeed such sentiment & feelings as your letter contains and the burst (?) of eloquence in your address brought out in such a holy cause is calculated to do good by the force of example for alas it is thought among our degenerate sons & daughters of Israel that only its women & priests acknowledge the force of patriotism and zeal for Judaism. . . .

We are happy to hear of your sisters recovery. Phillip is quite well & growing fat. present my tenderest love to my dear Miriam, her letter arrived last evening and brought the usual happiness to us all. May you pass the approaching festivals in health, and may the God of Israel accept your prayers and record you in the book of life and happiness. believe me My dear Nephew, with sincere affection
your grateful & sincere

R. G



Notes

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the notes.

A.J.A.	American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio
A.J.H.S.	American Jewish Historical Society, New York
DAB	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Elzas, JSC	Barnett A. Elzas, <i>The Jews of South Carolina</i> , Philadelphia, 1905
Ezekiel and Lichtenstein	H. T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, <i>The History of the Jews of Richmond, 1769-1917</i> , Richmond, Va., 1917.
Grinstein	Hyman B. Grinstein, <i>The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York</i> , Philadelphia, 1945
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
PAJHS	<i>Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society</i>
Pool, <i>Old Faith</i>	David and Tamar de Sola Pool, <i>An Old Faith in the New World</i> , New York, 1955
Pool, <i>Portraits</i>	David de Sola Pool, <i>Portraits Etched in Stone</i> , New York, 1952.
Reznikoff	Charles Reznikoff with the collaboration of Uriah Engleman, <i>The Jews of Charleston</i> , Philadelphia, 1950
Schappes	Morris U. Schappes, <i>Documentary History of the Jews in the United States</i> , New York, 1952
Stern	Malcolm Stern, <i>Americans of Jewish Descent</i> , Cincinnati, 1960
W. & W.	Edwin Wolf, 2d, and Maxwell Whiteman, <i>The History of the Jews of Philadelphia</i> , Philadelphia, 1956

Notes

Part Seven. Christian and Jew

1. See Montagu Frank Modder, *The Jew in English Literature to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1939), for a general survey of the problem.

2. On Isaac Harby, see Part One, Document 57; Part Four, Document 126; Part Five, Document 154; Part Six, Document 211.

3. Richard Cumberland (1732-1811) had achieved a marked success with his comedy, *The Jew: or, Benevolent Hebrew*. Its first American performance took place at the New Theatre in Philadelphia, in 1795. It was frequently performed thereafter in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. The central character, Sheva, was presented as a kindly money-lender, and in many respects a philanthropist. Cumberland had taken the sympathetic elements in the Shakespearean Shylock as the basis of Sheva's character.

4. Consider, for example, so prosy and contrived a passage as this in comparison with the bitter and biting poetry of Shakespeare:

"We have no abiding place on earth—no country, no home. Everybody rails at us, everybody points us out for their may-game and their mockery. If your playwrights want a butt, or a buffoon or a knave to make sport of, out comes a Jew to be baited and buffeted through five long acts, for the amusement of all good Christians. Cruel sport! merciless amusement! Hard dealings for a poor stray sheep of the scattered flock of Abraham! How can you expect us to show kindness, when we receive none?" Cumberland, *The Jew*, Act I, scene i.

5. Henry L. Pinckney and Abraham Moise, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Isaac Harby, Esq.* (Charleston, 1829), pp. 262-67.

6. John Dryden (1631-1700) was the first great poet and playwright of the Restoration period in English literature. Among his plays, there are several revisions, in classical style and prosody, of Shakespeare's plays.

7. *The Spanish Friar; or the Double Discovery* (London, 1690) was a drama in which Dryden was reputed to have used with most success the device of carrying on two distinct plot lines that are brought together in the climax.

8. Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-84) was the dictator of literary fashions in mid-eighteenth-century London. His edition of Shakespeare (the source of Harby's quotation), which appeared in Oct., 1765, is still read with interest by scholars. Johnson's chief monument, however, is none of his own works, but is James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*.

9. David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica, or a Companion to the Playhouse, Containing Historical and Critical Memoirs* (2 vols., London, 1782; 3 vols., London, 1812). The passage quoted by Harby is to be found in Vol. III, p. 34, of the 1812 edition.

10. Giovanni Fiorentino, an Italian poet and novelist of the latter half of the fourteenth century, was one of the many imitators of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. "Il Pecorone" was one of his tales. See *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XVII, 241.

11. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), one of the greatest of Italian authors, is particularly remembered for his collection of stories, *The Decameron*. Many of Shakespeare's plot elements are borrowed from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, even as Boccaccio had borrowed them from his predecessors.

12. See Part Three, Chapter XLII.

13. Mrs. Crawford has not been identified.

14. Anon., "On the Depressed State of Jewish Females," *The Christian Spectator*, February, 1823, pp. 82-83. The poem is signed with the initial "H.," but its author has proved unidentifiable.

15. Two Poems by Mrs. Crawford, *The Ladies Garland*, Vol. II, no. III (1839), p. 76.

16. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), popular English novelist. See *DNB*, VI, 380-82.

17. *Harrington*, one of Miss Edgeworth's novels, was first published (with *Ormond*) in three volumes (London, 1817). The American first edition appeared in New York in the same year. Reputedly, Miss Edgeworth was led to the writing of *Harrington* by receiving a letter from an American correspondent, complaining that there were no attractive portraits of Jewish characters in current English novels.

18. Sarah Ewing Hall (1761-1830) was a minor American essayist. *DAB*, VIII, 143.

19. *Selections from the Writings of Mrs. Sarah Hall* (Philadelphia, 1833), pp. 57-60.

20. Benjamin West (1738-1820) was one of the most distinguished of early American painters.

21. The picture that Mrs. Hall refers to is probably West's controversial historico-religious canvas, "Christ Rejected," which he completed about 1815; see the extended description of this picture in *A Catalogue of Pictures Painted by the Late Benjamin West, Esq.* . . . (London, 1821), pp. 6-14.

22. Christopher Gadsden (1724-1805), Revolutionary leader and merchant of South Carolina. *DAB*, VII, 82.

23. Letter of Presentation, Christopher Gadsden to the Hebrew Congregation of Charleston, Jan. 27, 1802, as printed in N[athaniel] L[evin], "The Jewish Congregation of Charleston," *The Occident*, Vol. I, No. 8 (Nov., 1843), p. 388.

24. David Lopez (1750-1811) was active in the planning and fund-raising for the first building and the equipment of Congregation Beth Elohim, in the 1790s. See Reznikoff, p. 57.

25. David Lopez to Christopher Gadsden [1802], as printed in N[athaniel] L[evin], "The Jewish Congregation of Charleston," *The Occident*, I, 8 (Nov., 1843), p. 388.

26. Christopher Gadsden to David Lopez [1802], as printed in N[athaniel] L[evin], "The Jewish Congregation of Charleston," *op. cit.*, p. 389.

27. See A Southern Jew [pseud.] to the Rev. Isaac Leeser, Savannah, Georgia, July 16, 1843, as printed in *The Occident*, I, 5 (Aug., 1843), pp. 247-50.

28. Emanuel de la Motta (1760-1821) served as volunteer Hazzan of the Savannah Congregation Mickve Israel, as well as being one of its incorporators. M. Sheftall, "The Jews of Savannah," *The Occident*, I, 19 (Jan., 1844), p. 487; *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), 83. He was also active in Scottish Rite Masonry and in communal affairs in Charleston; see Reznikoff, *passim*.

29. Dr. Jacob de la Motta, see Part One, note 32.

30. See Part Six, Document 213.

31. MS., Minutes of Congregation Mickve Israel, Savannah, Ga., 1816-39; Report of Isaac Cohen, parnass, Aug. 19, 1839, from copy in A.J.A.

32. "The building was completed and consecrated, and used for public worship according to the forms of the Portuguese Jews, until December, 1827, when it was consumed by fire." A Southern Jew [pseud.] to Isaac Leeser, *op. cit.* (this Part, note 27), p. 249. Mordecai Sheftall, however, in his article, "The Jews of Savannah," *The Occident*, I, 10 (Jan., 1844), p. 488, reports, "a Snogo [synagogue] of neat workmanship . . . consecrated on the 21st July, 1820, and consumed by fire (accidentally) on the 4th December, 1829."

33. MS., Minutes of Congregation Mickve Israel, Savannah, Ga., 1816-39, Report of Meeting of Committee, July 23, 1820; from copy in A.J.A.

34. Abraham De Lyon (died 1830), parnass of Congregation Mickve Israel of Savannah, was also active as a Mason; in 1820 and 1821 he was Grand Pursuivant in the Grand Lodge of Georgia. *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), 91. He was a descendant of one of the Jewish settlers who came to Georgia in 1733.

35. David Leion, who married Hannah Minis in 1798 and was divorced from her in 1799 (Stern, p. 227), may be identical with David Leion, on whose behalf the Georgia legislature passed a relief act. See *PAJHS*, XVII (1908), 105.

36. Dr. Moses Sheftall, son of Mordecai Sheftall, see Part Three, Document 93; Part Five, Document 178.

37. Sheftall Sheftall (1762-1847), son of Mordecai Sheftall, was a

late survivor of the Continental Army in the Revolutionary War. In his later years, he was a pensioner of the United States Government; in 1841, the city council of Savannah remitted all his back taxes and required no further tax returns from Sheftall for the rest of his life. We are told that "until his death he wore no other outer clothing than the Continental uniform." See Leo Shpall, "The Sheftalls of Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1943), 339-49. An attractive pen portrait appears in Charles H. Olmstead, "Savannah in the '40's," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, I (1917), 250-51:

"An interesting and unique figure in those days was a genuine Revolutionary hero, Mr. Sheftall Sheftall, who lived in a wonder dwelling on the north side of Broughton street between Whitaker and Barnard. The old gentleman when a young man had served in the Continental Army with faithfulness and honor. To the end of his life he clung to the costume of '76: the long coat, flapped waistcoat, knee breeches, low quartered shoes with large silver buckles, and the cocked hat, which gave him the name by which he was generally spoken of, 'Cocked Hat Sheftall.' On any fine day he could be seen taking his constitutional up and down the long piazza that ran in front of the house, and report had it that so regular was he in this that he wore out two or three sets of flooring in his tramps. The old veteran passed away on August 15, 1847, and was escorted to his last resting place by all the military of the city on the following day."

38. Scrolls of the Law.

39. Treasurer.

40. Reading desk or lectern.

41. Mr. Mason has not been identified.

42. P. M. Kollock, M.D., practiced in Savannah; his offices were on the west side of Wright Square, at the corner of York and President Streets.

43. This may be George W. Adams, who was active in Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, of the Ancient York Masons, in Savannah. See Bancroft, *Census, Savannah*, 1848, p. 45.

44. When the building of Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston was completed, in 1794, "On Friday, the 19th September of that year, the consecration took place, at which solemn ceremony his excellency, Governor Moultrie, the lieutenant-governor, the civil and military officers of the state, the municipal authorities, the reverend clergy and citizens generally attended, and expressed themselves highly delighted and edified." N[athaniel] L[evin], "The Jews of Charleston," *The Occident*, Vol. I, No. 8 (Nov., 1843), p. 387.

45. In 1836, when the congregation in Cincinnati consecrated its synagogue, the occasion was also a community celebration. The report below is given for comparison with the Savannah dedication:

"The ninth of September, 1836, corresponding to the twenty-seventh of Elul, 5596, was appointed for the consecration.

"The day having arrived, the crowd of our Christian friends was so great that we could not admit them all. We therefore selected the clergy and the families of those gentlemen who so liberally had given donations towards the building. The members of the congregation assembled in the basement rooms, a procession was formed, with the sepharim in front (under a handsome canopy), carried by Messrs. Joseph Jonas, parnass; Elias Mayer, G.Z. [Gabai Zedakah, "charity treasurer"], and Phineas Moses, treasurer (these gentlemen being also the building committee). Mr. David I. Johnson officiated on the occasion and chaunted the consecration service. He also led the choir of singers, supported by a band of music. The choir consisted of about twenty of the ladies and gentlemen of the congregation.

"Who did not enjoy supreme delight and heavenly pleasure, when the sweet voices of the daughters of Zion ascended on high in joyful praises to the great Architect of the universe on the glorious occasion of dedicating a temple to his worship and adoration? And what must have been the exciting feelings of the *founder* of this congregation, at the consecration of this first temple west of the Alleghany mountains, when, on knocking thrice outside the inner door, he was addressed by the reader within: 'It is the voice of my beloved that knocketh,' and when he responded: 'Open to me the gates of righteousness, I will go into them, and I will praise the Lord!' (The consecration hymns and service were composed and selected by the Rev. Henry Harris.)

"The ceremonies and service being concluded, an appropriate address was delivered by the parnass, Mr. Joseph Jonas. The Sabbath evening service was then solemnly chaunted by Mr. David I. Johnson, in which he was again harmoniously supported by the vocal abilities of the ladies and gentlemen of the choir. The Sabbath of the Lord having commenced, the labours of man ceased, and the instrumental music was heard no more. The whole was concluded by one of the ladies leading in the splendid solo and chorus of *Yigdal*, after which the numerous assemblage dispersed highly gratified." Communication of Joseph Jonas, the first Jew in Cincinnati, to *The Occident*, as reprinted in Jacob R. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews, 1775-1865*, I, 211-12.

46. John Henry Hobart (1775-1830) went abroad in 1823 and returned in the fall of 1825. DAB, IX, 93.

47. Solomon Hirschell, see Part Six, note 209.

48. Solomon Henry Jackson (died 1847), see *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 4; Schappes, p. 605, n. 1.

49. The names mentioned are those of Harmon Hendricks, Samuel Tobias, Moses L. Moses, E. S. Lazarus, and the Reverend Moses L. M. Peixotto. Other names of sponsors were included in the printed prospectus

that accompanied this letter. When Jackson did not hear from Bishop Hobart, though less than a week had elapsed, he sent a messenger to the episcopal residence to wait for "your answer to a note left with you this week accompanying Proposals." Included in this rather peremptory request for a reply were the names of two new non-Jewish sponsors, the Reverends Alexander McLeod and Samuel H. Cox. S. H. Jackson to Bishop J. H. Hobart, New York, Dec.—, 1826; MS., New-York Historical Society. The blank in the date was left by Jackson.

50. S. H. Jackson to Bishop J. H. Hobart, New York, Dec. 17, 1826; MS., New-York Historical Society.

51. MS., Shearith Israel Minutes, Sept. 30, 1823.

52. Possibly Francis McFarlan, a New York businessman of the period.

53. Naphtali Phillips, parnass of Congregation Shearith Israel, 1815-24. See Part Six, note 71.

54. Moses L. Moses, see Part Six, note 72, and Pool, *Old Faith*, *passim*.

55. Mordecai Manuel Noah, see above, *passim*.

56. Moses L. M. Peixotto, see Part Six, note 11.

57. MS., Shearith Israel Minutes, Sept. 16, 1830.

58. Pool, *Old Faith*, p. 450, transcribes this word as "Bearers."

59. The congregation was incorporated Oct. 2, 1828. Grinstein, p. 533, n. 27.

60. Grinstein, p. 391.

61. At the corner of White and Centre Streets; the Dispensary had been in existence since at least 1797.

62. According to Grinstein, pp. 54-55, the same rooms were successively used by Congregations Shearith Israel, Anshe Chesed, Shaarey Zedek, and Beth Israel.

63. Grinstein, pp. 263-64. But Pool, *Old Faith*, p. 52, gives the date of May 24, 1834, for the termination of Shearith Israel's occupancy of the room at the New York Dispensary.

64. MS., Anshe Chesed Minutes, Aug. 15, 1836.

65. Joseph Aaron was the author of *A Key to the Hebrew Language, and the Science of Hebrew Grammar Explained* (New York, 1834). There is a sketch of his activities in *PAJHS*, XXV (1916), 122-23.

66. MS., Anshe Chesed Minutes, Aug. 18, 1836.

67. Mr. Fennell has not been further identified.

68. See Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), 1-94.

69. The activities of other individual Jewish Americans in connection with the Masonic order may be found in all the Jewish community histories, s.v. "Masons," "Masonry," "Freemasonry."

70. See this Part, Document 233.

71. See Part Two, note 122.

72. Jacob Nathans (1796-1866) was the second child of Isaiah Nathans and his first wife, Barbara (Sarah); see Stern, p. 164. Isaiah Nathans's brother, Moses, also had a son named Jacob.

73. Philip Nathans (1810-65) was the first child of Isaiah Nathans and his second wife, Judith Russell; see Stern, p. 164.

74. Moses Nathans (1811-73), second son of Isaiah and Judith (Russell) Nathans, appears in the *Philadelphia Directory for 1837*, p. 162, as an accountant at 2 Lodge Place; see Stern, p. 164. For his marriage proposal, see Part Three, Document 111.

75. Samuel Nathans (died 1893), third son of Isaiah and Judith (Russell) Nathans. The *Philadelphia Directory for 1837*, p. 162, lists him as owner of a "loan office" at 166 North 4th Street; his residence is given as "30 Margareta."

76. Abraham Nathans (1814-71), fourth son of Isaiah and Judith (Russell) Nathans. In the *Philadelphia Directory for 1835 and 1836*, p. 134, he is listed without further description of his occupation, and his business address is given as 252 North 2nd Street, which is the address at which his father, Isaiah Nathans, had been listed in 1825. We may assume, then, that Abraham Nathans (with his brother David) took over the family business when their father retired.

77. Isaac Nathans (1822-96) was the sixth child (fifth son) of Isaiah and Judith (Russell) Nathans. See Stern, p. 164.

78. Isabella Nathans (1821-96) was the only daughter born to Isaiah Nathans. She was married twice; first, in 1839, to John Rowland, who died in 1840, and then to Harris Coleman. See Stern, pp. 164, 183.

79. David Nathans to Isaiah Nathans, Harrisburg, Oct. 4, 1826; MS., Nathans Family Papers, A.J.A. Other letters from David Nathans to his father may be found in Part Two, Document 75.

80. State of health, not of Pennsylvania.

81. Of the Masonic order in Pennsylvania.

82. John Andrew Shulze (1775-1852) was governor of Pennsylvania 1823-29. See William C. Armor, *Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 343-49.

83. David Nathans to Isaiah Nathans, Lancaster, June 18, 1828; MS., Nathans Family Papers, A.J.A.

84. David Nathans to Isaiah Nathans, Harrisburg, June 26, 1828; MS., Nathans Family Papers, A.J.A.

85. David Nathans to Isaiah Nathans, Pittsburgh, Aug. 28, 1828; MS., Nathans Family Papers, A.J.A.

86. W. & W., p. 235, indicate that American congregational authorities were reluctant to grant the request of would-be converts because of the survival of European modes of thought on the subject and because they considered many requests to be motivated by "expediency rather than conviction." The authors point out that in many cases, to circumvent this reluctance, synagogue members first went through a civil mar-

riage ceremony with the non-Jewish partner and then applied for conversion for their wives, to be followed by a religious ceremony.

87. Who Anna Barnett was is not definite; W. & W., p. 490, suggest the possibility that she was the wife of Nathan Barnett, who died in 1797. This is not supported, however, by Stern, p. 13.

88. Anna Barnett to the Adjunta of Congregation Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1794; MS., Mikveh Israel Papers, Box 882, A.J.A.

89. MS., Minutes of Trustees of Congregation Anshe Chesed, May 21, 1837; copy from A.J.A.

90. Moses Content was one of the founders of Congregation Anshe Chesed; when, in 1840, the New York protest against the Damascus outrages was organized, Content was one of the vice-presidents. See Grinstein, pp. 178, 590; W. & W., p. 455. See also Part Nine, Document 326.

91. See Part Six, Document 211.

92. Samuel Gilman (1791-1858). See DAB, VII, 305.

93. Edward Livingston (1764-1822). See DAB, XI, 309.

94. Edward Livingston to Isaac Harby, Washington, Dec. 25, 1825, as printed in L. C. Moise, *Biography of Isaac Harby* (Columbia, S.C., 1931), p. 97.

95. Thomas Jefferson to Isaac Harby, Monticello [Charlottesville, Va.], Jan. 6, 1826, as printed in Moise, *Biography of Isaac Harby*, p. 95.

96. The University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, was founded largely through the exertions of Thomas Jefferson and of James Madison.

97. Edward Rutledge (1798-1834), a native of South Carolina. He alternated between parishes in South Carolina and New England until 1824, when he became Rector of Christ Church, Stratford, Conn. Here he remained until 1829, when he became Assistant Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. Dexter, *Biographical Notices of Graduates of Yale College . . . later than 1815* (New Haven, 1913), p. 26.

98. Edward Rutledge to Isaac Harby, Stratford, Conn., March 17, 1827, as printed in Moise, *Biography of Isaac Harby*, pp. 91-93.

99. Judah P. Benjamin (1811-84) was the son of Philip Benjamin, an active member of the Reformed Society of Israelites. "Young Benjamin" was a student at Yale from 1825 to 1827; see Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia, 1906), pp. 25-27, for details of his education. Nicholas H. Rutledge (Yale, Class of 1829), brother of Edward Rutledge, a minister in Connecticut, could well have known Judah P. Benjamin. Benjamin's later career, as one of the most distinguished lawyers of the South, United States senator from Louisiana, secretary of state of the Confederate States of America, and finally, after the end of the Civil War, a second career as a lawyer in England, certainly fulfilled the early promise.

100. *North American Review*, XXIII (July, 1826), 67-69.

101. Gilman reviewed the *Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites* together with Harby's *Discourse*.

102. For Harby's memorandum, see Part One, Document 57.

103. Harby's *Alberti*, 1819, was his best-known play. President James Monroe was present at its second performance. See *JE*, VI, 232, which has Monroe at the premiere, and Reznikoff, p. 81.

104. See Part Four, Document 124, for other references to Harby's ownership of *The Southern Patriot and Commercial Advertiser* (1814-22); Reznikoff, p. 81, for his work with *The City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* after 1822.

105. Jacob Newton Cardozo (1786-1873) is most probably the editor referred to here; he edited Harby's *Southern Patriot* from 1816 and became its owner in 1823. See Reznikoff, pp. 84-85; see also Part Five, Document 153, and notes thereto.

106. *The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, III (Dec., 1828), 262. The tale of the Converted Jew is then related, but placed in quotation marks, pp. 262-64.

107. *The Methodist Review* (N.Y.), IV (Oct., 1821), 378-80.

108. Founded in 1816.

109. Founded in 1824.

110. For example, the Society for Evangelizing the Jews, of which Dr. Philip Milledoller (see this Part, note 130) was first president, founded in 1820; the United Foreign Missionary Society, founded in 1817.

111. Joseph Samuel Christian Frederic Frey (1771-1850), see *DAB*, VII, 28.

112. *Narrative of the Rev. Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey* (9th ed., New York, 1832), pp. 138-46.

113. Probably John David Marc (died 1841), an active missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. For many years, he resided in Offenbach, near Frankfort a.M., later migrating to London before 1819. See H. H. Norris, *The Origin, Progress, and Existing Circumstances of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews* (London, 1825), pp. 35, 36, 268, 269, 303.

114. The London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews was founded in 1809; see *Official Year-Book of the Church of England*, 1952, p. 378.

115. The providential thunderstorm is a frequent theme in American Protestant literature. Cf., for example, Increase Mather, *Remarkable Providences* (1684).

116. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin (1770-1837) was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Newark, N.J., 1815-21. *DAB*, VII, 619. Further details of his career may be found in Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, IV, 26-43.

117. Rev. Stephen Grover was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Caldwell, N.J., for 48 years; his successor, Rev. Richard F. Cleveland, gave his son the name of Grover, "in honor of his . . . venerated predecessor." See *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, III, 429.

118. Elias Boudinot (1740-1821), in addition to his public services, was author of religious works and active in missionary and other church activities. See *DAB*, II, 477, and this Part, Document 250.

119. Dr. John Henry Livingston (1746-1825), a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church, was named president of Queens College (now Rutgers University) in 1810. See *DAB*, XI, 314, and this Part, Document 256. There is a full biographical sketch in Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. IX, part 2, Reformed Dutch, pp. 52-66.

120. Dr. Ashbel Green (1762-1848), a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman, was president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) from 1812 until 1822, when he resigned "because of the infirmities of age," only to live an active life as editor of the *Christian Advocate* for 26 years. See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, III, 479-96; *DAB*, VII, 536.

121. Dr. Archibald Alexander (1772-1851), a Presbyterian clergyman and one-time president of Hampden Sidney College, was chosen Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology when the Presbyterian Seminary at Princeton, N.J., was established in 1812; in this post, he remained until his death. See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, III, 612-26; *DAB*, I, 162.

122. Dr. Samuel Miller (1769-1850), one of the most prominent of preachers in the Presbyterian clergy of New York City and an early advocate of manumission of slaves, became Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Presbyterian Seminary at Princeton in 1813, holding that chair until shortly before his death. See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, III, 600-12; *DAB*, XII, 636.

123. Bernard Jadownicky was a Polish Jew who became a convert to Christianity. After his arrival in the United States, as narrated here, he became an active propagandist for the Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. In 1823, under the sponsorship of the Society, he was enrolled as a student at Princeton Theological Seminary. See *The First Report of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews* (New York, 1823), pp. iii, and *passim*.

124. Adalbert, Graf von Recke von Volmerstein (1791-1878). See Meyers *Lexikon* (1929 ed.), X, 16.

125. On the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, see Lorman Ratner, "Conversion of the Jews and Pre-Civil War Reform," *American Quarterly*, XIII (1961), 43-54.

126. See this Part, Document 249.

127. Elias Boudinot to Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey, Burlington, N.J., July 6, 1820; MS., copy from A.J.A.

128. Will of Elias Boudinot, probated 1821; from typescript copy in A.J.A.

129. Boudinot seems to have regarded the purpose of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews on the basis of this passage, more directly as a missionizing society than the account of Frey would warrant.

130. Dr. Philip Milledoller (1775-1852), active as pastor and as a teacher of Theology. See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. IX, part 2, Reformed Dutch, pp. 104-14.

131. Letter of Count von der Recke to the Rev. Mr. Frey, as reprinted in a pamphlet of "Interesting Documents," printed in 1822 by the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, p. 1. The copy of this pamphlet in A.J.A. lacks title page.

132. Address of Jadownicky, as translated by the Rev. Dr. Milledoller, in "Interesting Documents" (see note 131 above), pp. 4-9; extracts as here reprinted from pp. 4, 5, 6, 6-7, 7-9.

133. Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760) was a Protestant theologian who devoted much attention to missionary work among Muslims and Jews; in 1728, he founded the Institutum Judaicum, a training school for missionaries. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, III, 707.

134. Possibly Karl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf (1773-1859), a clergyman of the Evangelical church in Germany whose interest in missionary work led him to migrate to England, where he was associated with the London missionary societies. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXXV, 739.

135. It has thus far proved impossible to identify the "Bergmann" referred to here.

136. Pastor Stein has not proved identifiable.

137. The account of a convert named Adler is *a priori* possible, since this was an era in which there were many individuals, even of prominent Jewish families of Germany, who became Christians; see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. I, s.v. Apostasie. But no identification has been available.

138. From 1788 to 1816, Simhah Bunem Rappaport was "first rabbi," i.e., chief of the rabbinic consistory of the Cologne area, which included Bonn; in 1811, Abraham Auerback was made his coadjutor. When Simhah Bunem died in 1816, Auerback became his successor and held office until 1837. One of these two rabbinic scholars and communal leaders must be the person referred to here.

139. Pastor Manuel of the French Reformed Church has not proved identifiable.

140. Pastor Spiess was called to the ministry of the German Reformed Church in Frankfurt a.M. in 1813; prior to that, he had held a pastorate at Duisburg. See the biography of his son, Gustav Adolph Spiess, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXXV, 178.

141. In *Historical Notices of the London Society for Promoting*

Christianity Among the Jews (London, 1850), pp. 47, 50, there are references to a converted "Israelite" named E. Blum who was added to the staff of the Society's mission in the Duchy of Posen. It is highly dubious whether this is the Pastor Blum referred to here, but this is the only suggestion of an identification that has been found.

142. Pastor Handwerk has not been identified.

143. The reference may be to Anton Kirchner (1779-1834), whose whole life was spent in Frankfort a.M., as editor, teacher, preacher, and politician. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XVI, 18.

144. Reichsthaler.

145. See this Part, Document 249.

146. See this Part, Document 249.

147. *The First Report of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews*, presented May 9, 1823 (New York, 1823), pp. 5-6, 8-12, 17-18.

148. See this Part, note 111.

149. See this Part, note 124.

150. At this point, extracts from Count von der Recke's message and Jadownicky's address were reprinted. The American Society got a great deal of mileage out of these pieces, which were used and reused to show that there was a substantial active European interest in the conversion of the Jews.

151. For this choice between a large tract of land in Pennsylvania and \$1,000 in cash, see this Part, Document 251. Our advantage of more than a century and a quarter enables us to see that the Directors made a poor choice.

152. "Report of Committee to Devise Plan for Settlement of Jewish Converts," *Israel's Advocate*, II, 2 (Feb., 1824), pp. 18-22.

153. John H. Livingston. See this Part, Document 256.

154. Dr. Peter Wilson (1746-1825), lawyer and prominent lay member of the Dutch Reformed Church. See *DAB*, XX, 341.

155. Daniel Boardman is named in the *Twenty-Fourth Report* (1847) of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, p. 48, among the Directors for Life.

156. Ebenezer Burrill was one of the Directors of the Society.

157. Richard Milford Blatchford (1798-1875), a lawyer interested in the work of the Society. See *DAB*, II, 359.

158. John R. Murray was one of the auditors who certified, May 8, 1823, to the correctness of the Treasurer's report. See *The First Report* (1823) of the Society, p. 25.

159. See this Part, Document 252.

160. Erasmus H. Simon and Bernard Jadownicky to the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, Murray Hill, N.Y., May 21, [1825]; reprinted from *Christian Examiner* (Boston), II (July-Aug., 1825), 309-11.

161. See the interesting letter reprinted by W. & W., p. 242, from the *Philadelphia Gazette* of March 18, 1824.

162. See this Part, note 119.

163. See this Part, note 154.

164. Cf. the references to this "integrationist" viewpoint, in the Committee Report above, this Part, Document 254.

165. John H. Livingston to Peter Wilson, undated letter, reprinted from *The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, I (1826), 100-2, 158-60, 223-26.

166. *Israel Vindicated, being a refutation of the calumnies propagated respecting the Jewish nation: in which the objects and views of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, are investigated*. By an Israelite. New York, published by Abraham Collins, 1820.

167. Abraham Collins, printer, of 266 Greenwich Street, New York; see *PAJHS*, VI (1897), 142.

168. George Houston was a minor non-Jewish literary figure of the time. In 1822, he became editor of the literary weekly, *The Minerva*.

169. For this attribution, see Schappes, p. 605, n. 2 to doc. 73.

170. *Israel Vindicated*, pp. v-viii, 99-103, 108-10.

171. "Christian Herald, vol. I, p. 34," note in original.

172. Solomon H. Jackson (died *ca.* 1847), born in England, arrived in the United States about 1787. He settled in Pennsylvania and there married Helen Miller, daughter of a Presbyterian minister. After his wife's death, Jackson resettled in New York, raising his five children in the Jewish faith. In addition to his periodical, *The Jew*, Jackson published an English-Hebrew prayer book in 1826 and, in 1837, the first American edition of the Passover services in English and Hebrew; see *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 4.

173. S. H. Jackson, ed., *The Jew* (New York), I, (March, 5583 [1823]), 5-9.

174. J. S. C. F. Frey.

175. The reference is not to the classic Jewish work under the title *Kol Jacob*, but to an English polemic against Frey: *Kol Jacob in Defence of the Jewish Religion containing the arguments of the Rev. C. F. Frey, one of the Committee of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, and Answer thereto*, by Jacob Mikelsburger. The original edition was published at Liverpool. An American edition reprinted, "for John Reid, Bookseller, No 99 Water-Street," 1816, is the work referred to here. See Rosenbach, No. 183.

176. "Levi" to the Editor, in *The Correspondent* (New York), Feb. 3, 1827, pp. 18-19.

Part Eight. Widening Geographic Horizons

1. Joseph Joachim Henry came to live with his uncles, Barnard and Michael Gratz, in 1785. He died in 1793 and was buried in the Mikveh Israel Cemetery. Notification of his death was not sent to his father until 1795. See W. & W., pp. 182, 434.

2. *Census*, 1790, Pennsylvania, has two householders by the name of Joseph Henry listed, one (p. 56) of Bucks County, the other (p. 252) of Washington County. However it is most unlikely that either of these is our man, who seems to have remained a member of the Gratz household and would, therefore, have appeared as one of the unnamed adult members of that household in the first census.

3. Simon Gratz (1773-1839), see Part Three, note 22.

4. Hyman Gratz (1776-1857), see Part Three, note 33.

5. Michael Gratz (1740-1811), see Part Three, note 16.

6. Some land in Virginia had been given to Joseph Henry in 1789 by his uncle Solomon Henry of London. See W. & W., p. 182.

7. There are documents of the Jewish communities of Langendorff and Tost from 1762 in the Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Box "Silesia." One of these documents, a contract for repair of the synagogue, dated Jan. 24, 1771, is signed "Jonas Hirschel," and he is described as "Vorsteher der Langendorfer Judengemeinde Jonas Hirschel."

8. See W. & W., p. 434, n. 108. The MS. of the official translation of this letter is there noted as being in the private collection of Edwin Wolf, 2d.

9. Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin-Dahlem, 21A, Conv. 2, Amerika, Verein. Staaten, 1795-1804; MSS., Berlin, Sept. 19, 1798, and May 16, 1799. Photostatic copies of the original letters (written in French) are available in the A.J.A.

10. Simon and Hyman Gratz to Jonas Hirschel Bluch, [Philadelphia], Sept. 15, 1799; MS. draft (unsigned), A.J.H.S.

11. Leah, wife of Jonas Hirschel Bluch.

12. Rachel (Gratz) Etting (1764-1831), see Part Three, note 15.

13. Solomon Etting (1764-1847), see Part One, note 59.

14. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

15. A rather mild reproof, under the circumstances.

16. Deed from Aaron Levy to Joseph Henry, Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1787, MS., in the possession of Edwin Wolf, 2d, according to W. & W., p. 434, n. 111. For Aaron Levy and the town of Aaronsburg, see Sidney M. Fish, *Aaron Levy, Founder of Aaronsburg* (New York, 1951), and W. & W., *passim*. *Census*, 1790, Pennsylvania, p. 186, Northumberland County, records Aaron Levy as head of a small household.

17. Jonas Hirschel Bluch to Bernard, Michael, Simon, and Hyman Gratz, Langendorff, May 27, 1800; MS. (in German), A.J.H.S.

18. Jonas Hirschel Bluch's hopes that the estate would be settled quickly were not fulfilled. See J. H. Bluch to Barnard and Michael Gratz, Langendorff, July 6, 1801; MS. (in German), A.J.H.S.

19. This sort of international exchange of inheritances, to which the Gratz-Bluch materials testify, did not, of course, all flow from the New World to the Old. New Americans received testamentary bequests from their old homes. See, for example, the MS. (in Dutch) letter of notification, dated "Haarlem den 20 Mey 1823," to Abraham Alexander of Charleston, S.C., of an inheritance from his wife's aunt. The MS. is signed in both Dutch and Hebrew characters; it is written in an excellent Dutch of a formal and aristocratic type (though the writer is evidently a bourgeois). A copy of this MS. is in A.J.A. The addressee was, in all probability, Abraham Alexander, Jr. (1771-1844), the adopted son of Abraham Alexander (1743-1816), scrivener, who served as lay reader of Congregation Beth Elohim, 1764 to 1784.

It was, also, too easily possible to lose track of relatives who migrated to America; this was tragic especially when one looked forward to receiving an inheritance. The following letter from Nathan Levy of London to the authorities of Congregation Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia, dated Jan. 27, 1835 (M.S., Mikveh Israel Archives), shows an attempt to trace relatives in such a case:

"Gentlemen I have taken the liberty of pettioning [sic] to you concerning my Uncle & Aunt of whom I have not heard for the last twelve or fourteen Years. Gentlemen I have sent many a letter over since then & have not been able to hear any tidings of them from that time till this. I have therefore taken the liberty gentlemen of writing to you with the hope of hearing from you wether [sic] they are still living. Gentlemen the reason I write to you is this they having no children & beign [sic] both greatly advanced in years & having the last time I heard of them Informed me that they Kept a sugar store & was a saving money & beign [sic] a poor man having a large family & a wife Unfortunately blind for the last four Years & beign [sic] the nearest relation now living my Uncle [Meir Hirsh] & Aunt beign [sic] since both dead therefore Gentlemen if they are living I should be most happy to hear of them from you if it's in your power to let me Know & I hope you will not think it two [sic] Encroaching of me & gentlemen if they should not be living I should be very thankful to you if you could Inform me if they left any property as it is mine by right beign [sic] the nearest relation living & a poor man makes me take the liberty of pettioning [sic] to you hoping it may be in your power to let me Know, Gentlemen to show you that my Pretensions are not false I have enclosed one of the letters that my Uncle sent me, In which you will find that he sent me & my Uncle [Meir

Hirsh] who is since dead twenty dollars between us Gentlemen your Information will be most thankfully received by your humble petitioner [sic] Nathan Levy watch maker No 2 Amelia place Seven step Alley Gravel Lane Houndsditch London, formly [sic] of No 5 Love Court Petticoat Lane London. My Uncles direction the last time I heard from him was. M E S, Sartor St George Alley, New Street near second Street Philadelphia”

Unfortunately, Nathan Levy's uncle was dead and had left his little estate to an American benefactor; the MS. contains the draft copy of the reply of the Parnass of Congregation Mikveh Israel dated Philadelphia, April 2, 1835: “I have this morning your favour of the 27 Jany & in reply to your inquiries [sic], I can only [say] that Mr E. S. Sartor died in June 1830, leaving a small house & other small property which he will'd to a Mr. G. Philips & became his property after the death of Mrs. Sartor who died in Nov., 1832.

“The cause of Mr S.'s leaving Mr P. his property was owing to his kind attention to him & Wife whilst they were infirm. The above is all the information I can give you.”

20. He was the nephew of Aaron Levy of Aaronsburg, son of Moses Hayyim Levy. See Fish, *Aaron Levy, Founder of Aaronsburg*, p. 2. He was soon established in business in Philadelphia; *The Philadelphia Directory for 1802*, p. 147, lists him as a “store keeper” with premises at 160 North Second street. On June 10, 1801, he married Fanny Joseph, by whom he had at least two sons, Benjamin and Joseph, and several daughters. See W. & W., p. 491, n. 112, and *passim*; Stern, p. 117.

21. Certificate of Naturalization of Aaron Levy, Jr., Nov. 21, 1803; MS., copy from A.J.A.

22. *Census*, 1790, Pennsylvania, p. 226, Philadelphia, reports Charles Biddle as Secretary of the Council and head of a household consisting of “free white males 16 and upward . . . 2; free white males under 16 . . . 5; free white females . . . 2; all other free persons . . . 3.” In 1788, Biddle was one of the non-Jews who contributed financial help to Congregation Mikveh Israel; see W. & W., p. 144. His donation of 3 pounds compares favorably with Benjamin Franklin's contribution of 5 pounds.

23. Aaron Soria (1762–1852), see *PAJHS*, XXVII (1920), 475, n. 1.

24. In 1794, a collection was taken up among the members of Congregation Shearith Israel for Mrs. Soria “a distressed French woman who is arrived here and has nothing to support herself and child.” Pool, *Portraits*, p. 407.

25. Isaac Soria, fourth child of Aaron and Rachel Soria.

26. “Incidents in the Life of Mr. Aaron Soria, Furnished by his Son Mr. Isaac Soria, in April 1871,” *PAJHS*, XXVII (1920), 475–79.

27. Israel Joseph (1733–1804) is recorded as a householder (himself, one white female, and one slave) in *Census*, 1790, South Carolina,

p. 41, Charleston. He was a liberal contributor to the construction of the first synagogue of Congregation Beth Elohim (1791) and was granted the honor of laying the first (east) cornerstone of the building in 1792. "In 1794 the Synagogue was completed. . . . At the consecration and at every succeeding anniversary the highest honors were awarded to Israel Joseph and Philip Hart as the principal benefactors to the building. . . ." *Year Book*, city of Charleston, 1883, p. 308, as reprinted in Elzas, *JSC*, p. 122; see also *The South-Carolina State Gazette*, September 20, 1794, for a short account of the consecration. See also Stern, p. 101 (s.v., Joseph IV).

28. The only reference to Jacob Buley is that his name first appears in the record of Congregation Beth Elohim in 1806 (Elzas, *JSC*, p. 133); yet his will was drawn up in 1802 at which time he had already lived in Charleston long enough to gain the estate disposed of in the will. Apparently Elzas exaggerates the degree to which it was possible for Congregation Beth Elohim to exert some compulsion on the Jews of the Charleston area. Indeed, it seems most probable, considering Buley's will, that he was not interested in the synagogue as a spiritual resource during his life but solely as a guarantor of burial in consecrated ground whenever he should die.

29. On Coming Street; see Reznikoff, p. 151; Elzas, *JSC*, p. 35, reports that this cemetery was the private burial ground of Isaac da Costa prior to 1764, and only then transferred to congregational ownership.

30. The reference may be to the land conveyed, in 1798, by Betzye Henrickson, "to certain grantees to be a burying-ground for them and their descendants." Reznikoff, p. 153. The grantees of this land on Hanover Street were Henry Moses, Solomon Moses, Meyer Derkheim, Samuel Hyams, Benjamin Tores, and Solomon Harby. *Ibid.*, p. 302, n. 211.

31. He should not be confused with Abraham Cohen of Georgetown, son of the Reverend Moses Cohen, minister of Congregation Beth Elohim, 1750-62. Elzas records both our Abraham Cohen (of Edisto), who married Rachael Harby, a sister of Isaac Harby, and Abraham Cohen of Georgetown (who died in 1800) as contributors to Congregation Beth Elohim (Elzas, *JSC*, p. 133).

32. Samuel Simons, who may have fought as a volunteer with Captain Lushington's company of Charles Town Militia in the Revolution (see Reznikoff, p. 270), is recorded in *Census*, 1790, South Carolina, p. 42, Charleston, as a householder owning two slaves, and supporting one other free white person, whose age and sex are unspecified. He was a contributor to Congregation Beth Elohim (Elzas, *JSC*, p. 139) and was elected to the general adjuncta of the congregation in 1820 (Reznikoff, p. 291).

33. Israel Joseph, Will, Charleston, S.C., Jan. 18, 1798; MS., in City of Charleston "Will Book," XIX, 1800-7, pp. 673-78; probated June 25, 1804. Printed here from typescript copy in A.J.A.

34. Daniel Hart (died 1811) was an active and loyal member of Congregation Beth Elohim; see Reznikoff, pp. 69, 70, 245. He was a member of the Committee of Arrangements on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone for Beth Elohim in 1792; see Elzas, *JSC*, p. 117 and *passim*.

35. Founded in 1784; see Reznikoff, pp. 154-55 and *passim*.

36. "The Orphan House was built in or about the year 1790. It stands in a square at the N.E. corner of Boundary and St. Philips Street. It ranks very high among the institutions of its class. Nearly two hundred children are here fed, clothed and instructed. In the rear of the Orphan House in their Chapel." *Charleston Directory for 1829*, p. 9. The Hebrew Orphan Society was not founded at the time of the making of this will; it came into existence in 1801. See Reznikoff, pp. 156-57.

37. Lyon Levy, who died in 1835 at the age of 71 (Elzas, *Old Jewish Cemeteries*, p. 14), was a native of England who was naturalized in 1788; he was elected treasurer of the state of South Carolina in 1817; he served for a time as secretary of Congregation Beth Elohim at a salary of 20 pounds per annum and was an elected member of the General Adjunta after 1820; he was commissioned as justice of the peace in 1806; see Reznikoff, *passim*, and Elzas, *JSC*, *passim*. See also Stern, p. 115.

38. Jacob Buley, Will, Charleston, S.C., March 15, 1802; MS. in City of Charleston, "Will Book" XXX, 1807-18, p. 79. Probated Jan. 27, 1809. Printed here from typescript copy in A.J.A.

39. *Census*, 1790, South Carolina, p. 38, Charleston, lists Henry Moses as head of a household consisting of himself and one free white female, presumably the mother he refers to in his will. He arrived in America about 1780 and in Charleston somewhat over a year later (Elzas, *JSC*, p. 98), but his name does not appear in the records of Congregation Beth Elohim prior to 1803 (*ibid.*, p. 137).

40. Samuel Hyams first appears on the records of Congregation Beth Elohim in 1800 (Elzas, *JSC*, p. 137). He was court crier in 1816 and became keeper of the jail in 1822, a position he held for some time; he is noted as jailer in the *Charleston Directory for 1829*, p. 54. An active Mason, he was Senior Warden of Friendship Lodge in 1819. See Reznikoff, *passim*.

41. Samuel Maverick, see Part Four, note 154.

42. Abraham Cohen, Will, Charleston, S.C., Oct. 27, 1809; MS. in City of Charleston, "Will Book" XXXI, 1807-18, pp. 294-95. Probated Jan. 1, 1810. Printed here from typescript copy in A.J.A.

43. Isaac Clifton Moses (1781-1834), see Elzas, *JSC*, pp. 137, 141, 163, 242; Stern, pp. 145, 147.

44. Isaac Harby, see Part One, note 162.

45. *Census*, 1790, South Carolina, p. 75, lists two householders of the name of William Wood.

46. Samuel Simons, Will, Charleston, S.C., Oct. 28, 1823, MS. in

City of Charleston "Will Book" XXXVI, 1818-26, pp. 972-74. Probated Feb. 13, 1824. Printed here from typescript copy in A.J.A.

47. Duke's Place Synagogue in London, known as the "Great Shool," was an Ashkenazic synagogue, built in 1722 in Duke Place, Aldgate, the cost being defrayed by one Moses Hart. See *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 176; *JE*, VIII, 161.

48. *Census*, 1790, South Carolina, p. 40, Charleston, lists Sampson Simons (1750-1811) as the head of a household consisting of 2 free white males of 16 or over, 2 other free persons, and 1 slave.

49. Moses Simons, a shopkeeper of Charleston, was born in London in 1768 and died Feb. 17, 1808 (Elzas, *Old Jewish Cemeteries*, p. 76). He arrived in Charleston about 1782 (Reznikoff, p. 50).

50. Montague Simons died Sept. 8, 1812, aged 60 years (Elzas, *Old Jewish Cemeteries*, p. 75). He arrived in Charleston about 1780, "his motive for coming here was to join his 3 brothers in this town" (Reznikoff, p. 49).

51. Saul Simons (1757-1809) originally came to Charleston before 1780; he seems to have been one of the seven Jews who joined about 160 of their fellow Charlestonians in affirming their allegiance to the British crown in 1780. The resentment of his fellow-citizens after the Revolution may have led Saul Simons to move to Savannah. See Elzas, *JSC*, p. 102.

52. "By the exertions of Abraham and Benjamin Goldsmid the sum of £20,000 was collected between 1795 and 1797, with which in 1806 the Jews' hospital called 'Neveh Zedek,' was opened . . . at Miles End for the support of the aged poor and for the education of orphan children" (*JE*, VIII, 162).

53. Moses Clava Levy (1750-1839), an immigrant from Poland, was active in Scottish Rite Masonry in Charleston; see Reznikoff, *passim*; Stern, p. 120.

54. Jacob C. Levy (1788-1875) was a son of Moses C. Levy. He became a prominent Charleston merchant and was active in the Reformed Society of Israelites there. There was a "J. C. Levy" who was secretary of the Charleston riflemen, 1811-13; this is possibly the same person. See Stern, p. 120; Reznikoff, p. 105.

55. An *indentured servant* pledged himself prior to taking passage to serve a certain length of time as servant to the person who paid his fare. A *redemptioneer* signed with a ship's captain, agreeing to serve any master that the captain could find, after the trip, willing to put up passage money.

56. The story is told in detail in Guido Kisch, "German Jews in White Labor Servitude in America," *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1937), 11-49.

57. Wolf Samuel to his Family, Peach Bottom, Pa., June 27, 1819, as translated by Guido Kisch, "White Labor Servitude in America," *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1937), pp. 27-28, 31, 42-43.

58. Wolf Samuel's complaint against Stephen Boyd, Feb. 27, 1820;

selections translated by Joseph L. Blau from the German (Swabian) original printed by Guido Kisch, "White Labor Servitude in America," *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1937), pp. 44-48.

59. Once he settled down, August Mailert became an active and prosperous merchant in Richmond, Va. For information about his communal activities, see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

60. No information about S. Meylert has been found except what he records in his letters to his nephew.

61. S. Meylert to August Mailert, Carbondale, Pa., Nov. 8, 1832; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

62. From *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, Sept. 9, 1837, as translated in Rudolf Glanz, "Source Materials on the History of Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1800-1880," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, IV (1951), 108.

63. From *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, March 30, 1839, as translated in Glanz, "Source Materials . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

64. From *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, May 4, 1839, as translated in Glanz, "Source Materials . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 111.

65. From *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, Sept. 28, 1839, as translated in Glanz, "Source Materials . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 93.

66. From *Israelitische Annalen*, 1840, p. 73, as translated in Glanz, "Source Materials . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 109.

67. No information about Johannes Ernst Zinn has been found.

68. See this Part, note 59.

69. Johannes Ernst Zinn to August Mailert, Cassel, Nov. 12, 1833; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

70. No information about G. Creutzinger has been found.

71. G. Creutzinger to August Mailert, Cassel, Sept. 30, 1834; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

72. Charles Lucius Mailert, see this Part, Documents 279 and 283.

73. *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1840*, p. 260, lists "Vierick, John C., musician, 13th bel. Locust." This is probably the music teacher referred to by Creutzinger.

74. *Das Füllhorn*, Bamberg, April 8, 1836, p. 119.

75. *Das Füllhorn*, Dinkelsbühl, 1835, p. 384.

76. Congregation Bnai Jeshurun.

77. Congregation Shearith Israel.

78. Congregation Anshe Chesed.

79. Isaac Nordheimer; see Part Five, Document 163.

80. See this Part, Document 283; see also the extensive Mailert Family Correspondence in the A.J.A.

81. Charles Lucius Mailert to August Mailert, Cassel, Aug. 1, 1835; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

82. Of Richmond, Va.; see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

83. No information about John Kreidler has been found.

84. Nazareth, Pa., a picturesque old town about 6 miles from Easton, was (like the nearby city of Bethlehem, Pa.) settled in the 1740s by German members of the Moravian church.

85. Johannes Kreidler to August Mailert, Lower Nazareth, Pa., Feb. 20, 1836; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

86. See this Part, Document 280.

87. S. Meylert to August Mailert, s.l., Sept. 15, 1836; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

88. See Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

89. So, for example, in 1847 August Mailert was the manager of the annual ball held for the benefit of the Richmond Hebrew School Fund; in 1848, he was one of the incorporators of the Hebrew and English Institute of the City of Richmond, and in 1852 he was treasurer of the Hebrew Beneficial Society; see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

90. "Stung to emulation by the success of Clinton's ditch [New York State's Erie Canal], the Pennsylvanians spent about forty million dollars upon a transportation system which linked Philadelphia with Pittsburgh, four hundred miles away. In part they used rivers and canals, while they surmounted the high Allegheny ridges by a series of inclined planes, up which boats, cargo, and passengers were hauled by steam. It was a heroic enterprise, and though it almost bankrupted the state, it did a useful work and helped make Pennsylvania one of the leading industrial states." Nevins and Commager, *The Pocket History of the United States* (New York, 1943), p. 201. The Pennsylvania canal system was completed in 1834; whatever value it may have had was temporary, since by that time the railroads that were to remove all American canals to the realm of romance were already beginning their rapid expansion.

91. S. Meylert to August Mailert, Reading, Pa., Aug. 13, 1840; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

92. As commission clerk; see this Part, Document 281.

93. Ontario County, in the Finger Lakes region of New York State, county seat, Canandaigua.

94. See this Part, Document 270.

95. Charles Lucius Mailert to August Mailert, Cassel, Oct. 31, 1840; MS., Mailert Family Correspondence, A.J.A.

96. S. Meylert's daughter-in-law, wife of his older son, Amos; see this Part, Document 282.

97. For the Jewish community of Newport, see Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport* (New York, 1936), and Abram V. Goodman, *American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, 1947), chapters III and IV.

98. From 1804 to 1811, Joseph Lopez (1756-1822), a strict Sabbath observer who lived on the north side of the Parade Grounds, was a clerk at Gibbs and Channing. He was known as an "accurate and expert book-

keeper"; see George C. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport, R.I., from the year 1793-1811* (Newport, R.I., 1868), pp. 136, 198-201.

99. Aaron Lopez (1731-82) was born in Portugal and settled in Newport in 1752. His papers are in the Newport Historical Society; they reveal his rapid rise to affluence and influence. Much of his fortune was lost during the Revolution; he died, leaving a complicated estate, in 1782. See for details the articles by Bruce M. Bigelow, "Aaron Lopez, Merchant of Newport," *New England Quarterly*, IV (1931), 757-76; and Harold Korn, "Documents Relative to the Estate of Aaron Lopez," *PAJHS*, XXXV (1939), 139-43.

100. Estate of Aaron Lopez, Petition and Resolutions, 1790-95, Commonwealth of Massachusetts; photostatic copies of MSS. from A.J.A.

101. Son of Joseph Russell (1719-1804), a merchant prominent in the development of the whaling industry; see *DAB*, XVI, 245. The father's prominence and wealth is attested by the reference to the son as "Gentleman."

102. "Gore Christopher, Esq. office, State Street, dwelling house Bowdoin's-square." *The Boston Directory* . . . (Boston, 1789), p. 25.

103. Joseph Wheeler, register, Worcester, Mass., ca. 1790.

104. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 21, Newport County, records Walter Channing as head of a household consisting of 4 white females and 2 slaves.

105. Samuel Phillips (1752-1802) served in the Massachusetts state senate from 1780 to 1801 with the exception of one year. In 1785, he was selected to succeed Samuel Adams as presiding officer of the senate. *DAB*, XIV, 543.

106. David Cobb (1748-1830) was speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, 1789 to 1793, *DAB*, IV, 239.

107. John Hancock (1736/7-1793), prominent merchant and signer of the Declaration of Independence was serving his ninth term as governor of Massachusetts when he died. *DAB*, VII, 218.

108. Samuel Adams (1722-1803) was governor of Massachusetts, 1794-97. *DAB*, I, 95.

109. David Lopez's name is recorded on the list of 113 members of St. Johns Masonic Lodge of Newport prior to 1791. See Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), 18. He was a brother of Aaron Lopez. Born in Portugal, he died in Boston in 1797. See Stern, p. 124.

110. David Lopez, Will, Dec. 8, 1797, probated Jan. 9, 1798; MS., Register of Probate Court, Boston, Mass., copy from A.J.A.

111. Esther (Lopez) Gomez (1753-1811) was buried in the New Bowery Cemetery, New York City, *PAJHS*, XVIII (1909), 109; XX (1911), 163; Stern, p. 124.

112. Moses Mordecai Gomez (1744-1826) is recorded in *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 117, New York City, Dock Ward, as head of a house-

hold of 2 free white males 16 or over, 1 free white male under 16, and 2 free white females. See Stern, p. 63.

113. Rebecca (Lopez) Hendricks (1760-1844); see *PAJHS*, II (1893), 104.

114. Uriah Hendricks (1737-98) is recorded in *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 117, New York City, East Ward, as head of a household of 2 free white males 16 or over, 6 free white females and 2 slaves.

115. Hannah (Lopez) Rivera (1767-1848); see *PAJHS*, XXVII (1920), 439; Stern, p. 124.

116. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 19, Newport, records "Abram Rivera" as head of a household consisting of 1 free white male of 16 or over, 1 free white male under 16, 5 free white females, 1 "other free person," and 4 slaves.

117. Abigail (Lopez) Gomez (1771-1850), daughter of Aaron Lopez and his second wife Sarah (Rivera), married, in 1790, Isaac Gomez, Jr. (1768-1831), youngest child of Moses Gomez (1728-89) and Esther (Gomez) Gomez (1739-1822). Stern, p. 63.

118. Later, Miriam (Lopez) Levy; she died in New York in 1812. See Pool, *Portraits*, p. 327; Stern, p. 124.

119. Deborah Lopez, see *PAJHS*, XXIII (1914), 89.

120. Stern, p. 124, records Judith, daughter of Aaron Lopez, with no further information.

121. Grace Lopez's name also occurs in Portuguese form as "Gracia"; see *PAJHS*, II (1893), 105; Stern, p. 124. She died, unmarried, in 1839.

122. Joshua Lopez (1768-1845) married Rebecca, sister of Abraham and Judah Touro. See *PAJHS*, II (1893), 105; XIII (1905), 195; and Pool, *Old Faith*, p. 423; and Stern, pp. 124, 216.

123. Samuel Lopez (died 1831), see *PAJHS*, II (1893), 104; IV (1896), 204; and Pool, *Portraits*, p. 135; he married Judith Seixas.

124. Aaron Lopez, see this Part, note 99.

125. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 21, Newport, records Moses Lopez as head of a household consisting of 3 free white males of 16 or more and 1 free white female. See also Part Two, Document 74.

126. Jacob Lopez (1750-1822), see Pool, *Portraits*, p. 419; Stern, p. 124.

127. Abraham Lopez (born 1711), see *PAJHS*, XXIII (1914), 88; Stern, p. 124.

128. Except for this bequest, no information about Sarah Deming has been found; see *PAJHS*, XXIII (1914), 89.

129. Except for this bequest, no information about Beth Bass has been found; see *PAJHS*, XXIII (1914), 89.

130. Rebecca (Mears) Isaacs is also mentioned in the will of Solomon Isaacs; see *PAJHS*, XII (1904), 167; Stern, p. 90.

131. Jacob Isaac(k)s (1718-98); see Part Five, note 152. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 20, Newport, records "Jacob Isaacks" as head of

a household consisting of himself, 2 free white males under 16 years of age, and 6 free white females.

132. Grace (Mears) Levy (1742-1817), a sister of Rebecca (Mears) Isaacs, see this Part, note 130.

133. Hyman (Haim) Levy (1739-95) is reported to have been one of the residents of Newport who remained in the city after its occupation by the British in the Revolution; see *PAJHS*, X (1902), 13; Stern, p. 116.

134. Moses Michael Hays (1739-1805), originally of Newport, moved to Boston after the Revolution and quickly established himself in commerce there. He was also an active Mason. *Census*, 1790, Massachusetts, p. 183, Boston Town, lists Hays as head of a large household: 2 free white males 16 or over, 2 free white males under 16, 11 free white females, and 2 "other persons." *JE*, II, 270. See also, Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), pp. 1-94.

135. Sarah Lopez was born Sarah Rivera. Aaron Lopez having died in 1781, Sarah Lopez became the "head of a household," and in *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 21, Newport, she is so recorded. At this time, the household consisted of 4 free white males of 16 or more, 3 free white males under 16, 6 free white females, and 6 slaves. The will of David Lopez, in 1797, sixteen years after the death of Aaron Lopez and seven years after the census report, mentions 8 daughters (out of 11) and 3 sons of Aaron Lopez, by his two wives, Abigail (1726-62) and Sarah (1747-1840).

136. Joseph Lopez (1756-1822); Stern, p. 124.

137. Abraham Touro (1777/8-1822), brother of the far better known Judah Touro and brother-in-law of Joshua Lopez (see this Part, note 122), was a son of Isaac and Reyna (Hays) Touro. See Stern, p. 216; *PAJHS*, XII (1904), 105-6.

138. Advertisement in *Newport Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1809, p. 2, col. 1.

139. Jacob and Joshua Lopez were cousins; Jacob was a son of Abraham Lopez and Joshua Lopez a son of Aaron Lopez; see this Part, notes 99 and 127.

140. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, p. 21, Newport, records a householder named "Charles Feaks." It is possible that this is the same as "Charles Feke" referred to in the advertisement.

141. Advertisement in *Newport Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1809, p. 4, col. 4.

142. Moses Seixas (1774-1809), older brother of Gershom M. Seixas, was cashier of the Bank of Rhode Island; his family lived in the bank building on the south side of the Parade Grounds in Newport. Moses Seixas's son Benjamin (1775-1843) acted under his father as teller of the bank. The family was strict in its Sabbath observance. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport*, pp. 210-12. See also, Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry . . .," *PAJHS*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-94; Stern, p. 189.

143. Stephen Gould, see Part Two, note 116.

144. Joseph Lopez to Stephen Gould, Greenwich [Conn.], Aug. 19, 1822; MS., in the collection of David Jacobson of San Antonio, Texas, copy from A.J.A.

145. Moses Lopez was a cousin of Joseph Lopez; Moses was the son of Abraham Lopez; and Joseph, the son of Aaron Lopez. See this Part, notes 99 and 127.

146. All the names casually mentioned in this letter are unidentifiable because they are so common. *Census*, 1790, Rhode Island, records ten householders by the name of Bliss, three by the name of Eldred, six named J. Barber, and two named W. Barber. Williams, of course, would have remained a common name in Rhode Island since the time of the founder, and Perry is still a name of frequent occurrence in maritime New England.

147. Titus Welles to General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, Boston, May 7, 1823; MS. in the collection of David Jacobson of San Antonio, Texas, copy from A.J.A.

148. For the earlier history of the Newport synagogue see Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport*. The special interest of the Touro brothers, Abraham and Judah, in preserving the building of Congregation Jeshuat Israel (erected in 1763) lay in the fact that their father, Isaac Touro, had been its *hazzan*. The synagogue, now a National Historic Site, is called the "Touro Synagogue"; the street on which it is located is named Touro Street. See Gutstein, *To Bigotry No Sanction* (New York, 1958).

149. Christopher Champlin, see Part Two, note 17.

150. William Hunter (1774-1849) was a member of the legislature of the state of Rhode Island from 1823 to 1825. *DAB*, IX, 407.

151. See Part Two, note 116.

152. Titus Welles is unidentifiable.

153. John Lawe was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1779 and died at Green Bay, Wisc., in 1846. See Stern, p. 58.

154. Jacob Franks was born in England about 1766; he was a nephew of the well-known David Salisbury Franks. Jacob married Mary (Polly) Solomons (1776-1826), daughter of Lucius Levy and Rebecca (Franks) Solomons; see Part Six, Document 191 and notes. See also Stern, pp. 58, 199.

155. For the history of the fur trade in the northwest, see Paul Chrisler Phillips, *The Fur Trade* (2 vols., Norman, Okla., 1961).

156. John Jacob Astor (1763-1848), see *DAB*, I, 397.

157. Samuel Solomon is unidentifiable.

158. See Part Two, note 54.

159. Jacob Franks, Deed, Michillimackinac, July 23, 1805; copy of MS. from A.J.A.

160. John Lawe to John Jacob Astor, Green Bay, May 6, 1836; MS., Wisconsin Historical Society.

161. Robert Stuart (1765-1848), a fur trader, was head agent of the

American Fur Company for the upper lakes region, 1820-34. *DAB*, XVIII, 175.

162. Ramsay Crooks (1787-1859) was appointed general manager of the American Fur Company in 1817. After John Jacob Astor's retirement in 1834, Crooks bought the northern department of the company, of which he became president, continuing business under the name of the original company. *DAB*, IV, 565.

163. Daniel Whitney (1795-1862), founder of Green Bay, was born in Gilsun, New Hampshire, but lived in the town he founded in Wisconsin for more than thirty years. *Commemorative Biographical Record of the West Shore of Green Bay, Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 83-86.

164. James Duane Doty (1799-1865), politician and speculator, in 1823 became judge of the judicial district of Northern Michigan. He settled later at Green Bay, Wisconsin. *DAB*, V, 390.

165. Papers of two court cases of Samuel Solomon 1808; MS., Early Records, District of St. Louis; printed here from typescript copies in A.J.A.

166. Edward Hempstead (1780-1817) was born in New London, Conn.; he entered legal practice in 1801 and in 1804 went west. In 1806, he was appointed deputy attorney general for the districts of St. Louis and St. Charles. Three years later, he became deputy attorney general for the Missouri Territory, an office he held until 1812 when he was elected a delegate to represent the Missouri Territory in the U.S. Congress. *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, ed. by William Hyde and Howard L. Conard (New York, Louisville, and St. Louis, 1899), II, 1014.

167. The use of this phrase need not be taken to indicate that S. Solomon had converted to Christianity. It is more likely to be the form used in St. Louis at the time.

168. Silas Bent (1768-1827), a Massachusetts-born lawyer and jurist. In 1807, he was made first judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of St. Louis; in 1808, he became auditor of public accounts; in 1809, he was made presiding judge of the St. Louis court. *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, I, 133.

169. Auguste Pierre Chouteau (1786-1838) was, after 1807, one of the ten partners in the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company. He was a member of the family of voyageurs earlier represented by such intrepid pioneers as Jean Pierre Chouteau (1758-1849) and Charles Rene Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829).

170. William Clark (1770-1838) was appointed governor of the Missouri Territory in 1813. *DAB*, IV, 141.

171. Samuel D. Solomon to General William Clark, St. Louis, Feb. 8, 1813; MS., Missouri Historical Society.

172. Mr. Blondeau, a farmer, was for many years interpreter for the Sac and Fox Indians. He settled in the area at least as far back as 1805. See *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri. The personal narrative of Charles Larpenteur 1833-1872*, ed. by Elliott Coues (New York, 1898), I, 5.

173. "On July 15 [1812] Captain Charles Roberts, who commanded the nearest British post at St. Joseph's Island, received an order . . . authorizing an attack on Michillimackinac. . . . His force consisted of some three hundred Indians, for whose presence Robert Dickson, a famous fur trader of the Red River Valley, and his voyageurs were responsible." Dickson "had been building up an immense trade [in the Sioux territory] during the thirty years since the close of the Revolution." Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur* (New York, 1931), pp. 166, 169.

174. Petition of Inhabitants of Town of Carondelett to County Court of St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1821; printed here from typescript copy in A.J.A.

175. Benjamin Monsanto's busy commercial life is reflected in the frequency with which his name appears in the index to May Wilson McBee, *The Natchez Court Records, 1765-1805. Abstracts of Early Records* (Lithoprint, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1953). An investigation of the relationship of Monsanto's descendants to the Queeny family, founders of Monsanto Chemical Company, would be useful.

176. Abraham (or Abram) M. Mordecai (born in 1755 and died after 1847); see biographical sketch in Harry Simonhoff, *Jewish Notables in America, 1776-1865. Links of an Endless Chain* (New York, 1956), pp. 117-20.

177. Contract, Benjamin Monsanto and Henry Manadu, Natchez, Miss., Feb. 19, 1790; from photostatic copy in A.J.A.

178. "On July 29 [1797], [Don Manuel] Gayoso [de Lemos] was promoted to be Governor of Louisiana and departed from the Natchez post. . . . Later Grandpre was ordered to fill the vacancy occasioned by Gayoso's promotion but the Committee of Public Safety intimated that Grandpre would not be acceptable to the people, and so he never accepted command of the post." Later, in 1809, when West Florida was under the dominion of Spain, Grand Pre was its governor. Our document indicates that long before Gayoso's promotion, Grand Pre acted in the absence of the governor. See Joseph Dunbar Shields, *Natchez, Its Early History* (Louisville, 1930), p. 26 for the quotation, and *passim*.

179. Contract, Benjamin Monsanto and Louis Faure, Natchez, Miss., May 24, 1791; from photostatic copy in A.J.A.

180. When, in April, 1799, the civil organization of the Mississippi territory was completed by Governor Sargent, George Fitzgerald was commissioned as one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for Adams County. See Rowland Dunbar, *History of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1925), I, 363.

181. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos (ca. 1752-1799), see DAB, VII, 210, and this Part, note 178.

182. Mortgage, Benjamin Monsanto and David Williams, New Orleans, La., June 17, 1792; true copy dated New Orleans, May 29, 1795; from photostatic copy in A.J.A.

183. See *New Orleans in 1805. A Directory and a Census . . .*, with an introduction by Charles L. Thompson (New Orleans, 1936), p. 28.

184. Contract, Benjamin Monsanto and Francisco Candel, Natchez, Miss., April 19, 1794; from photostatic copy in A.J.A.

185. Steven Minor was a Pennsylvanian by birth, who became adjutant of the Spanish military post in Natchez, and even served as Spanish governor; in 1804 he was the commander of "a small fort over which floated the Castilian flag" across the river from Natchez, where now the town of Vidalia stands. See J. D. Shields, *Natchez, Its Early History*, p. 56 and *passim*; and Harnett T. Kane, *Natchez on the Mississippi* (New York, 1947), especially pp. 79, 81, 352.

186. Abram M. Mordecai, Execution of Debt, Tucabaches, Ga., Oct. 28, 1798; MS., National Archives.

187. Properly Michael Elhart, or Elhert, a Dutchman with a reputation for honesty and industry who engaged in the Indian trade among the Creeks. See *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, IX, 169, 258, 476.

188. Alexander Cornell(s), a half-breed, was selected by the Federal Commissioners for the territory of Georgia as an interpreter; in 1796 he served in this capacity at Coleraine. He had also been assistant to Benjamin Hawkins. See Merrit B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, Ga., 1951), pp. 90, 118, 187.

189. Benjamin Hawkins, Certificate, Creek Agency, Dec. 5, 1804; MS., State of Alabama, Tallapoosa County, Deed Record, Vol. A, p. 352.

190. Benjamin Hawkins (1754-1818), Indian agent and United States Senator. In 1795, President Washington appointed Hawkins to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Confederacy. After this mission had been successfully accomplished, by the Treaty of Coleraine, 1796, Hawkins was appointed Indian agent for the Creeks. *DAB*, VIII, 413.

191. See *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1934), 267.

192. Major David Adams was one of the participants, on behalf of the State of Georgia, in treaty councils with various Indian groups. See Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins*, pp. 180-81, 182.

193. Benjamin Whitaker, long a resident of Jefferson, Ga., served for many years as Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. See Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends* (Atlanta, Ga., 1913), I, 707.

194. See *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1934), 267.

195. See *PAJHS*, XXXIV (1934), 265.

196. Schappes, p. 609, notes 3 and 4, correctly claims that Jacob S. Solis and Jacob de Silva Solis are the same person, although in the *Publications* of the A.J.H.S. the two names are treated as references to two different persons.

197. Deed of Acquisition of Ground for Cemetery for Israelite Congregation, New Orleans, La., April 26, 1828; photostatic copy of MS., A.J.A.

198. See *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Pollock Carlile,

notary public, 44 Chartres, cor. Conti—d.h. 86 Esplanade, bel. Casa Calvo."

199. See *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Jacobs Manis, trader, cor. Maine and St. Claude."

200. Shaarey Chesed. See Leo Shpall, "The First Synagogue in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1938), 518-31.

201. Aaron Daniels, see Schappes, p. 608, note 4; Gibson, *Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities New Orleans and Lafayette* . . . (New Orleans, 1838), p. 52, "Daniels, Aaron and Goodman, dry goods store, 31 Chartres street."

202. *Guide and Directory* . . . 1838, p. 167, "Plotz, A, clothing store, 153 Old Levee street."

203. *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Philips Asher, cloathing store, 79 Tchoupitoulas, ab. Poydras."

204. Apparently a partner of Asher Philips in the clothing store at "79 Tchoupitoulas, ab. Poydras." *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd.

205. *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Pilie Joseph, city surveyor, 110 Royal, bel. Toulouse."

206. *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Harrod and Ogden, merchants, 37 Royal, bel. Conti." Later Charles Harrod became president of the Mississippi Insurance Co., *Guide and Directory* . . . 1838, p. 95. Francis Barber Ogden (1783-1857), who had seen action in the Battle of New Orleans (1815) as aide-de-camp to General Andrew Jackson, was an engineer who later served in the United States Consular Service. *DAB*, XIII, 639.

207. Possibly the son of Captain William Lake and his wife, Rachel; Captain Lake had died before 1822; in *New Orleans Directory*, 1822 his widow is noted as living on "Maine, bel. Rampart."

208. *New Orleans Directory*, 1822, unpagcd, "Boswell Wm. cloathing store, 5 St. Peter, bel. Levee."

209. Aaron Solomon to Mrs. Jacob S. Solis, New Orleans, Feb. 7, 1830; MS., in the possession of J. Solis-Cohen, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa., copy from A.J.A.

210. Jacob S. Solis had married, in 1816, Miss Charity Hays of Philadelphia. W. & W., p. 495, note 163.

211. See Part One, Documents 22-29.

212. Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1910), p. 35, asserts that prior to the incorporation of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, Jewish families had gathered for divine service in the home of Zalma Rehine (see Part Three, note 124), on Holliday Street, near Pleasant Street. It must be remembered, however, that Rehine moved to Baltimore from Richmond only in 1812 and that the Cohens and Ettings were already resident in Baltimore at that time. Levi and Solomon Etting had purchased, in 1801, a lot for use as a Jewish cemetery; it was in this "old" cemetery that Rehine, who died in 1843, and his wife Rachel, who sur-

vived him twenty years, were interred. See Adolf Guttmacher, *A History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation* (Baltimore, 1905), *passim*.

213. Not 1829, as Blum, *Jews of Baltimore*, p. 35, asserts. The earliest Ashkenazic synagogue in the United States was founded as a *minyan* in Philadelphia in 1795 and achieved independent status in 1802.

214. Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, Act of Incorporation, Annapolis, Md., March 1, 1830; MS., Maryland Hall of Records.

215. "Dyer, John, Victualler, York Road ot" *Baltimore Directory*, 1819, unpagcd; see also *Baltimore Directory*, 1835, p. 76.

216. Lewis Silver (1798-1846) was married in 1827 to Leah, daughter of Jacob Abrahams, Shohet of Congregation Shearith Israel; see Stern, p. 4.

217. Levy Benjamin served as an officer in the volunteer corps of Baltimore Jews in the Mexican War. See *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 95. See also *PAJHS*, XVI (1907), 187.

218. Thomas King Carroll (1792-1873), a relative of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was governor of Maryland, 1829-30. See *National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, IX, 302.

219. Lewis Silver and S. Eyting to Congregation Mikveh Israel, Baltimore, July 24, 1837. Records of Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia, Box 884; copy from A.J.A.

220. S. Eyting, of Philadelphia and Baltimore, see W. & W., *passim*.

221. German Hebrew Charity Society, Baltimore, Act of Incorporation, Annapolis, Md., March 8, 1839; MS., Maryland Hall of Records.

222. Aaron Weglein was a locksmith and bell hanger; according to the *Baltimore Directory*, 1845, p. 120 his address was 174 S. Bond St.

223. *Baltimore Directory*, 1847, p. 108, lists an Adam Engelhaupt, draper and tailor. This is the nearest (though very dubious) identification.

224. *Baltimore Directory*, 1845, p. 56, lists "Hertz, Aaron, variety store, 253 S. Bond St." This is probably the correct identification.

225. Bernhard Himmelreich later became very prominent in the affairs of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, having been its president, 1853-55, 1855-58, 1869-70, and 1871-73. He was a member of the congregation in 1839, at the time of the incorporation of the German Hebrew Charity Society. See Guttmacher, *A History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation*, pp. 18, 22.

226. This may be the Judah Rosewald who, much later, wrote a poem in Hebrew, entitled "Lincoln's Amnesty." See *PAJHS*, XVII (1909), p. 151.

227. *Baltimore Directory*, 1847, p. 47, lists "Roenhaupt [sic] John, tailor and clothier, 107 Harrison St." The spelling of the name is obviously merely a typographical error, since it appears alphabetically in the names beginning with "Rosen . . ."

228. *Baltimore Directory*, 1845, p. 28, lists "Cohen Moses, dry goods mer. 43 W. Balto. st."

229. "T. Hertz" was a member of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1860. Guttmacher, *History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation*, p. 39.

230. William Grason (1786-1868) was Governor of Maryland, 1838-

41. See *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, IX, 305.

231. See this Part, Documents 281 and 282.

232. See this Part, Document 301.

233. Phineas Moses (1798-1896), born in England, was one of the founders of the Cincinnati congregation. See *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 47; and Stern, p. 149. He and Abraham Jonas married sisters, Elinor and Louisa Block, respectively; see Stern, p. 19.

234. Phineas Moses to Jacob S. Solis, Cincinnati, Aug. 7, 1829; enclosure, D. I. Johnson and Morris Moses to Jacob S. Solis; MS., A.J.A.

235. David Israel Johnson (died 1842); see Schappes, p. 608, note 4, and *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 46-48 and *passim*. He arrived in Cincinnati in 1820 after having migrated in 1818 to Connersville in what is now Indiana from his home in Portsmouth, England. His name, prior to his American adventure, had been David Israel.

236. Morris Moses (brother of Phineas Moses; see this Part, note 233) was a brother-in-law of Joseph and Abraham Jonas, having married their sister Sarah; see *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 47.

237. Congregation B'ne Israel, Cincinnati, Act of Incorporation, Jan. 8, 1830; from *Acts of a Local Nature Passed by General Assembly State of Ohio*, XXVIII (1830), 15-16. See also David Philipson, "The Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley," *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 47-53.

238. Schappes, p. 626, note 7, asserts that Morris Symonds was a merchant by 1825; *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 111 lists "Simmons, Morris clothing store, Lower Market"; *Cincinnati Directory*, 1836, p. 169, has "Symonds Morris, clothing store, NEc Main a. Front."

239. Joseph Jonas (1792-1869) reputedly the first Jew in Ohio, a native of Exeter, England, came to Cincinnati in 1817. His autobiographical account of his early days in Cincinnati and the foundation of Congregation Bnai Israel was published in the form of a letter in *The Occident*, I (1843-44), 547-50; II (1844-45), 29-31, 143-47, 244-47. Considerable excerpts from this autobiography are reprinted in Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, I, 203-15. Later in his life, in 1860-61, Jonas was elected to a term in the Ohio state legislature. See also *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 44-48.

240. Solomon Moses, brother of Phineas and Morris Moses (see this Part, notes 233 and 236), arrived in Cincinnati in 1821. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825, lists him as a merchant who came from England, living on Sycamore, between 3rd and 4th Sts., with a store at 179 Main St. See *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 47, 49, 51, 54; IX (1901), 155.

241. Joseph Symonds must have been a brother or other close relative of Morris Symonds, since the *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 111, lists

"Simmons, Joseph, clothing store, 29 L Market," and the *Cincinnati Directory*, 1836, p. 169, has "Symonds, Joseph, clothing store NEc Main a. Front," identical in both cases with the addresses of Morris Symonds; see this Part, note 238.

242. Abraham Jonas (1801-64), a brother of Joseph Jonas, was a friend of Abraham Lincoln. See Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, I, 203. See also *PAJHS*, XVII (1909), 123-28; and Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), pp. 189-94, and *passim*.

243. Samuel Jonas arrived in Cincinnati in 1822; he was a brother of Joseph and Abraham Jonas; *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 47, 49, 51.

244. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 40, lists "De Young, Samuel J., clothing store, Fifth b. Main a. Walnut." In the *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825, his address is given as Sycamore, between 3rd and 4th.

245. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 20, lists a Simon Black, "Front b. Race a. Elm." There is no listing for Simon Block. Abraham Jonas's second wife was named Louisa Block. This may lead ultimately to a better identification, though Stern, p. 19, finds no record of a "Simon Block," in that family.

246. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 76, lists "Lewis David, merchant, L. Market b. Main a. Syc."

247. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1836, p. 170, lists "Symonds Simon, clothing store, 9 L. market, R Syc, n 4th." Probably another brother of Morris and Joseph Symonds.

248. If Schappes, p. 627, note 10, is correct, Barnard Le Jeune was at this time only 18 years of age; for Schappes asserts that this son of Isaac Le Jeune, a native of Amsterdam, died in 1843 at the age of 32. Stern, however, p. 157, places the date of Le Jeune's burial ten years earlier, in 1833.

249. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1836, p. 104, records a cigar manufacturer named Lewis Levi ("W s Main b 3rd and 4th"). Philipson, "Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley," *PAJHS*, VIII (1899), 51, transcribes this name as Lewis *Levine*, but adds no information.

250. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829, p. 110, lists "*Silver*, Benjamin, merchant, 5th E of B. way," but no *Silvers*.

251. Thomas Lyon Hamer (1800-46), Ohio legislator and Congressman was speaker of the lower house of the Ohio state legislature during the session of 1829-30. See *DAB*, VIII, 169.

252. Robert Lucas (1781-1853), governor of Ohio and territorial governor of Iowa, represented Pike County in the Ohio state senate from 1814 to 1832 (with the exception of 1823). See *DAB*, XI, 487.

253. Aaron Isaacs (1724-98), *Census*, 1790, N.Y., p. 162. Easthampton Town, lists "Isacks, Aaron" as head of a household of 1 free white male of 16 or over, 1 free white male under 16, and 3 free white females.

254. *Longworth's New York Directory for 1797*, p. 265, lists a William Payne as the master of an "academic school."

255. John Howard Payne (1791-1852), actor and dramatist, see *DAB*, XIV, 327.

256. Aaron Isaacs, Last Will, Easthampton, N.Y., April 2, 1798; probated Jan. 25, 1799. Recorded in Suffolk County Surrogate's Office, in liber B of wills, p. 30.

257. She was Mary Hedges (1720-1805), a Christian.

258. *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 162, Easthampton Town, lists "Isaaks, Aaron, Junr." as head of a household of 1 free white male of 16 or over, 2 free white males under 16, and 2 free white females. He was born in 1752; Stern, p. 92.

259. Mary Isaacs was born in 1768; Stern, p. 92.

260. Isaac Isaacs (1764-1809), *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 162, Easthampton Town, lists "Isaacks, Isaac" as head of a household of 1 free white male of 16 or over, 2 free white males under 16, 3 free white females, and 1 "other free person."

261. Esther Isaacs (1762-1848).

262. Samuel Isaacs (born 1766), *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 162, Easthampton Town, lists "Isaacks, Saml" as head of a household consisting of 1 free white male of 16 or over, 2 free white females, and 1 "other free person."

263. Elizabeth (Isaacs) Jones (born 1755) must have been a widow at this time for *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 162, Easthampton Town, lists "Jones, Eliza" as head of household of "free white males under 16 years . . . 1; free white females including heads of families . . . 2."

264. Sarah (Isaacs) Payne (1760-1807).

265. *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 162, Easthampton Town, lists, "Hedges, Danl" as head of a large household of 2 free white males of 16 or over, 2 free white males under 16, 8 free white females, 1 "other free person," and 5 slaves. He was probably Aaron Isaacs's brother-in-law.

266. Jacob Ezekiel (1812-99), see the necrology by D. P. (presumably David Philipson), in *PAJHS*, IX (1901), 160-63.

267. For the primitive Order of Druids in Celtic Gaul and Britain, see *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (New York, 1909), IV, 9. For the modern order, founded in England in 1781 and introduced in the United States about 1830, see *Encyclopedia Americana* (1947), IX, 351.

268. "Autobiography of Jacob Ezekiel, 1812-1896," pp. 1-4; type-script copy from A.J.A.

269. Ezekiel Jacob Ezekiel, father of Jacob Ezekiel, was born in Amsterdam in 1788 and migrated from his native Holland, to America in 1810. He settled in Philadelphia, where he died in 1831 and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia. See *PAJHS*, VI (1897), 110; *PAJHS*, IX (1901), 160.

270. Tobias Ezekiel (1786–1832) served in the Richmond Blues in 1807. Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, p. 73.

271. *Philadelphia Directory*, 1824, unpagged, has “Cohen, M.B. scourer, 45 Chestnut, dwelling 52 N. Fifth.” *Philadelphia Directory*, 1828, p. 16, has “Cohen, M.A. 70 S. 4th.” There is no way to tell which, if either, of these was the Mordecai Cohen who was married to Jacob Ezekiel’s aunt Sarah. M. A. Cohen’s address is the same as that of widow Esther Hart (see this Part, note 280), whose maiden name was Cohen, at whose home Jacob Ezekiel was boarded for a time. This suggests the possibility that there may have been a family relationship.

272. Eleazar Israel, born in 1751, died in Philadelphia in 1817 (Jan. 5, 1818, according to Stern, p. 93), and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery there. *PAJHS*, VI (1897), 109.

273. Rosetta Israel (1786–1854) married Levi M. Goldsmit(h) (1781–1849); see Stern, p. 93, and W. & W., *passim*.

274. Isaac E. Israel died June 11, 1818, and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia. *PAJHS*, VI (1897), 109; Stern, p. 93.

275. *Philadelphia Directory*, 1820, unpagged, lists “Israel Abraham E. storekeeper 17 north Third.” McElroy’s *Philadelphia Directory*, 1837, p. 108, lists “Israel Abraham, clothing, 160 Shippen.” See also W. & W., *passim*, for Israel’s services as scribe, *Shamash*, and occasional teacher.

276. Michael E. Cohen, a merchant, served as blower of the *Shofar* at Mikveh Israel for many years; when the new synagogue of this congregation was erected in 1822, he bought the honor of hanging and lighting the candles. In 1829, he was elected one of the managers of the newly established United Hebrew Benevolent Society. He died in 1835 and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia. *PAJHS*, VI, (1897), 110; W. & W., *passim*.

277. Martha Ezekiel married Jacob A. Levy of Richmond. Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, p. 117.

278. Adeline Ezekiel married Isaac Hyneman of Richmond. Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, p. 117.

279. McElroy’s *Philadelphia Directory*, 1837, p. 174, lists “Phillips, Goody, widow, 5 Lemon.”

280. *Philadelphia Directory*, 1830, p. 82, lists “Hart widow Esther, 70 S 4th.” She was the daughter of Jacob Raphael Cohen of Philadelphia, second hazzan of Congregation Mikveh Israel. She was the widow of Michael Hart. See W. & W., p. 357, and this Part, note 271.

281. McElroy’s *Philadelphia Directory*, 1837, p. 100, lists “Hitchcock J. Irvine, teacher, 40 Sansome, academy 29 N 7th.”

282. Jacob Bensadon served as temporary, part-time hazzan of Congregation Mikveh Israel; he could read the prayers, but was no scholar. Before the completion of the new building of Mikveh Israel (1822), his home was used for the deposit of the Scrolls of the Law and also for holding services. See W. & W., pp. 251, 363, 497.

283. Joseph Boston is listed in the *Philadelphia Directory for 1824*, unpagéd, as a silk and woolen dyer, located at 109 Sassafras (not Race, as Ezekiel indicates). In the *Philadelphia Directory for 1828*, he appears at the Sassafras St. address as a chemist and druggist.

284. McElroy's *Philadelphia Directory for 1837*, p. 54, lists "Desilver Robert, bookseller, 110 Walnut."

285. Jacob Ezekiel's memory has played him false in this detail. Abraham E. Israel (1773-1852) was *shamash* of Mikveh Israel from 1824 until his death. See W. & W., p. 457, note 78, and *passim*. This position would account for Israel's living in a house adjoining the synagogue grounds.

286. Simon Eyting, in all probability. See this Part, Document 304, and *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 95.

287. Possibly the same society as that called the German Hebrew Benevolent Society; see this Part, Document 305.

288. This statement conflicts with the information given above, this Part, Document 303, unless one of the synagogues Ezekiel recalls (at a distance of about sixty years) was an unincorporated "minyan."

289. *Baltimore Directory for 1819*, unpagéd, lists a "Levi Calimous" on Richmond Street.

290. See Part One, note 62.

291. Jacob A. Levy was the husband of Martha Ezekiel; see this Part, note 277, and *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 23.

292. Catherine (DeCastro) Myers was a beneficiary under the will of Judah Touro. *PAJHS*, XIII (1905), 109.

293. Abraham H. Cohen was hazzan of Congregation Beth Shalome in Richmond, Va. *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 22, 23.

294. James Lyons was manager of the annual ball held for the benefit of the Richmond Hebrew School Fund. *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 27.

295. Isaac Hyneman was the husband of Adeline Ezekiel; see this Part, note 278. See also this Part, Document 281, for August Mailert's relation to the Hyneman and Ezekiel families.

Part Nine. American Jews and World Jewry

1. William Davis Robinson was born in Philadelphia in 1774 and died before 1823. There is an extended biographical note in Schappes, p. 602, note 1.

2. See Part Seven, Document 254.

3. Samuel Myers (1790-1829) was the son of Moses Myers of Norfolk, Va. He was referred to as "Junior" to distinguish him from an older Samuel Myers, member of Congregation Beth Shalome of Richmond (born 1755/4; died in 1836 at the age of 82). See Schappes, p. 600, note 3.

4. Joseph Marx, see Part One, note 27.

5. W. D. Robinson, *Memoir Addressed to Persons of the Jewish Religion in Europe on the Subject of Emigration* (London, 1819), pp. 18–26.

6. Mordecai M. Noah, see Part One, note 23.

7. *Noah's Discourse* . . . 1818, see Part One, Document 56.

8. See this Part, Document 312.

9. Judah Zuntz (1783–1829). See Schappes, p. 596, note 5. Judah Zuntz's father, Alexander, was well enough established by 1790 to be listed as head of household consisting of himself, 4 free white males under 16, 6 free white females, and 2 slaves. *Census*, 1790, New York, p. 117, New York City. See also Pool, *Old Faith*, pp. 11, 216.

10. Mordecai M. Noah to John Quincy Adams, New York, July 24, 1820; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, Applications and Recommendations, 1809–17, National Archives.

11. See Part Four, Document 125.

12. In 1820, James Monroe was President.

13. Mordecai M. Noah to the Secretary of State, New York, July 24, 1820; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, Applications and Recommendations, 1809–17, National Archives.

14. The decay of the Jewish community of Newport was by this time virtually total; see Part Eight, Document 288.

15. During the Napoleonic wars; Noah's figure is probably exaggerated.

16. The list sent by Noah is remarkable; if he had, as he says here, opened communications with even a significant fraction of those he has listed, he must have kept very busy with correspondence. The list includes (with the original misspellings):

"*London*: Rothchild Sr., Banker; Asher Goldsmidt, Bullion Broker; Samuel Joseph, Merchant; Lawrence Phillips, [Merchant]; Doctor Myers.

"*Paris*: Abraham De Cologna, Grand Rabbi, President of the Consistory, & Knight of the Iron Crown of Austria; Worms de Romilly, Banker; B. I. Fould, [Banker]; Rothchild, Jr., [Banker]; Rodrigue, [Banker]; Michel Berr, Professour of Literature; Theodore Cerf (?) Berr, Landholder; Saul Grimeaux, Merchant; Olry (?) Hayim Worms, Broker; Aaron Schmidt, Merchant; Simon Mayer, Military Inspector; C. L. Wittersheim, Land holder.

"*CITIES & TOWNS IN FRANCE. Marseilles*: Sabaton Constantini, Mercht. *Dijon*: David Blum, [Merchant]. *Besancon*: Nathan Lipman, Manufacturer. *Bordeaux*: Abraham Andrade, Grand Rabbi; Gradis, Portuguese Consul; Rodrigue, Merchant. *Bayonne*: Castro, Jr.; Patto, Jr. *Nancy*: Berr Isaac Berr, Manufacturer; Gumpel Levy, Mercht; Moise Levy, Banker. *Sarrebouurg*: Elias Solomon, Landholder. *Luneville*: Lazare Levy, Mayor of the City; Jacob Brisac, Landholder. *Toul*: Leon Cohen, Landholder. *Avignon*: Joseph Montaux, Silk Manufacturer; Moise Millard, Merchant.

"*ITALY. Turin*: Girolimo Bazizca (?), Banker. *Neufchatel*: Israel Coen,

Land holder. *Leghorn*: Abraham Busnac, Algerine Consul Genl.; David Bacri, Mercht. *Venice*: Aaron Tatis (?), Landholder; Abraham Tedesco, Merchant; Jacob Samuel Cracovia, Rabbi. *Nice*: Isaac Samuel Avigdor, Banker. *Reggio*: Jacques Carmi, Rabbi. *Doire*: Joseph Vita Montmelian, Mercht. *Marengo*: De Beneditti, Banker; Donato-Afen (?)-Solis Salomon Vitale, Professor of Literature; Emilio Vitale, Merchant. *Pavia*: Joseph Benoist, Manufacturer; Moise Formiggini, [Manufacturer]; David Sampson, Banker. *Mantua*: Benoit Fano, Merchant. *Montinatti*: Israel I. Ottolenghi, Landholder. *Panaro*: Benjamin Uzighi, Manufacturer; Bonaventura Modena, Rabbi. *Quiers* (?): David Levy, Deputy Mayor. *Turin*: Jacques Todros, Mercht; Samuel Jacob Ghidiglia; Bozizza, Banker. *Ferrara*: Bondi Tammerani, Banker; Graziado Nappi, M.D. *Sisca*: Rabbi Segre, Common Council Man & Landholder. *Savigliani*: Aaron Elie Lattes, Rabbi. *Coni*: Solomon Lattes, Landholder. *Neufchateau*: Moise May, Manufacturer.

"UPPER & LOWER RHINE. *Bergen* (?): Aaron Friendeberg, Tobacco Manufacturer. *Maintz*: Benjn Jacobs, Merchant; Hertz Loep. Lorech, landholder. *Deux Ponts*: Hentz Oppenheim, manufacturer. *Rots Kirchen*: Jacob Hertz, Mercht & landholder. *Otterbourg*: Jacob Lazare, Mercht. *Hombourg*: Joseph Bloch, Manufacturer. *Neu-lingen*: Moise Kauffman, Landholder. *Metz*: Aaron Marc Levy, Mercht; Cerf. (?) Jacob Goudchaux, Banker; Jacob Goudchaux Beer, Landholder. *Sarguemines*: Joseph Hartz, Mercht; Schwab, Jr., [Merchant]. *Lille*: Salomon, Banker. *Dievolshusheim*: Hirsch Bloch, Landholder. *Niedershusheim*: Jacques Meyer, Rabbi. *Strasbourg*: Abraham Picard, Senr; Auguste Ratisbonne, Cloth Manufacturer; Baruch Cerf Berr, Landholder; Daniel Levy, Mercht; Israel Rhens, [Merchant]; David Zinsheimer, Rabbi; Rensi Picard, Banker. *Hagenau*: Joseph Dreyfous, Mercht; Saml Wittersheim, Manufacturer; Hirsch Lazare, Rabbi. *Neuwilln*: Lazare Woolff, Mercht. *Colnac*: Abram Jacob, Manufacturer. *Fiercutz*: Baruch Lang, Landholder. *Beishim*: Calman, Rabbi. *Hegensheim*: David, Rabbi. *Belfort*: Heyman Piegart, Manufacturer. *Colmar*: Hirtz Solomon, Mercht; Jacob Brunsweig, Rabbi. *Uffholtz*: Meyer Manheimer. *Coblentz*: Emmanuel Deutz, Rabbi. *Bonn*: Lion Marx, Landholder; Myer Marx, Common Council man. *Mayence*: Woolff Berman, Mercht. *Cologn*: Salomon Oppenheim, Banker. *Trevis*: Meyer Nathan Berncastle, Mercht. *Sandruk*: Jeremie Hirsch, Landholder. *Franconia*: Philip Mark, American Consul. *Hanover*: Jacobson, Banker. *Munich*: Baron Zeligman, [Banker].

"*Gibraltar*: Aaron N Cardoza, Mercht; Judah Benolier, [Merchant].

"*Algiers*: Joseph Bacri, [Merchant]; Samuel Bensammon, [Merchant].

"Amsterdam. Hamburg. Copenhagen not heard from."

17. Edouard Gans (1798-1839), legal scholar and Hegelian philosopher. *JE*, V, 566.

18. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), one of the outstanding figures in 19th century Jewish scholarship. *JE*, XII, 699.

19. Schappes, pp. 159-60, cites the variant translation together with

the accompanying editorial from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of June 1, 1822.

20. Edouard Gans and Leopold Zunz to Mordecai M. Noah, Berlin, Jan. 1, 1822; text as given by Samuel Oppenheim in *PAJHS*, XX (1911), 147-48.

21. Moses Moser (1796-1838), a friend of the poet Heine, was co-founder of the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums. *JE*, IX, 44.

22. The text of Noah's Proclamation, as printed here, is taken from A. B. Makover, *Mordecai M. Noah* (New York, 1917), pp. 48-57. There is an interesting discussion of the constitutionality of the Ararat proposal in the *American Athenaeum*, I (1825), 223.

23. Abraham de Cologna (1755-1832) was present in 1806 at the Assembly of Notables convened by Napoleon in Paris; from 1808 to 1812, he was chief rabbi, and, from 1812 to 1826, President, of the French Consistory. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 265. De Cologna wrote, and on behalf of himself, Meldola and Herschell declined the appointments as commissioners. For the text of De Cologna's public letter, see Goldberg, *Major Noah*, pp. 207-9.

24. Abraham Andrade (died 1836) was an active member of the Great Sanhedrin that met at Paris in 1807. *JE*, I, 578.

25. Solomon Herschell (1762-1842), see Part Six, note 209.

26. Raphael Meldola (1754-1828), Haham of the London Sephardic community, 1805-28. *JE*, VIII, 453.

27. Aaron Nunez Cardoza, consul for Tunis and Algiers at Gibraltar in about 1805, was one of the principal landowners of Gibraltar. For many years, he was the president of the Jewish community of Gibraltar and also president of the Chamber of Commerce. *JE*, III, 575.

28. Abraham Busnach, see this Part, note 16.

29. Benjamin Gradis the Younger (1789-1858), *JE*, VI, 63.

30. See this Part, note 20.

31. See this Part, note 18.

32. More correctly, Wolf, as in Schappes, p. 60. See M. M. Harbleicher, *Aus der Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1886), p. 316.

33. Abraham B. Seixas (1786-1834), son of Benjamin Mendes Seixas, was a major in the United States Army in the War of 1812. See Pool, *Old Faith*, p. 331.

34. *Niles Weekly Register*, Oct. 1, 1825, p. 69.

35. Alexander Smyth (1765-1830) of Virginia, soldier and congressman, won his rank in the War of 1812. From 1816 until his death, with the exception of one year, 1825-26, he was elected either to the Virginia House of Delegates or to the United States Congress. *DAB*, XVII, 373. The allusion to Smyth's address to the men of New York is no longer identifiable.

36. *Niles Weekly Register* attacked Noah's scheme at other times, too. See Sept. 24, 1825, p. 54, which repeats the allusion to General Smyth's address to the men of New York, and Oct. 15, 1825, p. 102, "Mr Noah, who has nominated himself 'governor and judge of Israel,' . . . laughs at some person in New York who offers himself, self-nominated, to the people of one of the counties for the office of sheriff. Why should an elephant regard the room occupied by a mouse? The difference between them is not greater than that of the king of the Jews and the hangman of a county. The eagle suffers little birds to sing." The repetition of the attack suggests that there were political differences behind the ridicule.

37. Originally published in Hebrew in *Bikkure ha-Ittim* (Vienna), VII (1826), 45-49; here printed as translated by Mendel Silver, *America in Hebrew Literature* (New Orleans, 1928), pp. 63-67. The original Hebrew article is reprinted by Silver on pp. 1-5 of his Hebrew section. For other critical European responses, see M. M. Gelber, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus. Judenstaatsprojekte in den Jahren 1695-1845* (Vienna, 1927), p. 289.

38. T. W. Donovan is mentioned by Grinstein, p. 116, as clerk of Congregation Anshe Chesed.

39. S. H. Jackson, see Part Seven, note 48.

40. "The Tender Sheep." See Grinstein, pp. 115-19.

41. *Address and Articles of the Association Zeire Hazon to their Brethren in the United States* (New York, 5597 [1837]), Lyons Scrapbook, I, item 130 c, in the collections of the A.J.H.S.

42. Ram's horn, used in the rituals of New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement.

43. Scroll of the Law.

44. Ritual slaughterer.

45. Performer of circumcision.

46. "The years of American Jewish history from 1830 until the close of the Civil War are, in fact, the 'Age of Leeser.'" W. & W., pp. 372-73.

47. Isaac Leeser, *Discourses, Argumentative and Devotional* (Philadelphia, 1837), pp. 181-83, 188-89, 189-90, 190, 192. The theme of the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land occurs with some frequency in the American (non-Jewish) literature of the period. For an interesting analysis, see Samuel H. Levine, "Palestine in the Literature of the United States to 1867," in *Early History of Zionism in America*, ed. by Isidore S. Meyer (New York, 1958), pp. 21-38, where the conception of Palestine in early 19th century America is described as "millenarian," in contrast with the "metaphysical" concept in 17th century America, and the "metaphorical" concept in 18th century America. See also Milton Plesur, "The American Press and Jewish Restoration during the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.*, pp. 55-76. Plesur's references are excellent. Suggestive of additional possibilities are the following: *Western Luminary*, I (1824-25), 357, on a proposed restoration of the Jews with the help of Roth-

schild, and *Baltimore Literary Monument*, I (1838), 241, an account of Jewish movement to Palestine.

48. On Enoch Zundel and his mission, see Grinstein, pp. 442-43; Pool, *Old Faith*, pp. 398-401.

49. For examples of later Palestinian messengers in America, see Salo W. and Jeannette M. Baron, "Palestinian Messengers in America, 1849-1879. A Record of Four Journeys," *Jewish Social Studies*, V (1943), 115-62, 225-92. See also Abraham Yaari, *Sheluche Erez Israel* (Palestinian Messengers: A History of the Messengers from the Destruction of the Temple to the Nineteenth Century), (Jerusalem, 1951), in which there is much material relating to America; on Zundel, see p. 764. While Zundel was in New York, he wrote a testimonial on behalf of William Elroy's *Complete Hebrew and English Dictionary* (New York, 1837).

50. See Part One, note 47.

51. Mordecai M. Noah to Zalegman Phillips, New York, April 13, 1833; MS., Mikveh Israel Archives, Box 883; photostatic copy from A.J.A.

52. See Part Six, note 71.

53. Naphtali Phillips to Zalegman Phillips, New York, April 13, 1833; MS., Mikveh Israel Archives, Box 884; photostatic copy from A.J.A.

54. The governors of the Sephardic Congregation in Amsterdam, Holland, to the Reverend Parnassim and Elders of the Israelite-Portuguese Congregation in Philadelphia, Amsterdam, 19 Ab 5597 [Aug. 21, 1837]; MS., Mikveh Israel Archives, Box 884; photostatic copy from A.J.A.

55. The theory of the descent of the Amerindians from the "lost" tribes of Israel has, like many other cranky theories, a long history and a full bibliography. It can be found in the 17th century, and lies behind the *Hope of Israel* (1650) of Menasseh ben Israel. In America, in the 18th century, the younger Jonathan Edwards supported this theory on philological grounds. A revival, probably not unconnected with the romantic glorification of the Indian (cf. the works of James Fenimore Cooper), took place in the early 19th century, when Elias Boudinot wrote his *Star in the West* (Trenton, N.J., 1816) and Ethan Smith his *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, Vt., 1825), and many other such works were produced before a spurious sanction in "revelation" was given to the theory by its incorporation in the *Book of Mormon*. See the review in Allen H. Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth* (Durham, N.C., 1930), pp. 2-4. As recently as 1931, Walter Hart Blumenthal published *In Old America. Random Chapters on the Early Aborigines* (New York, 1931), in which some aspects of the discredited theory are still taken with utter seriousness.

56. The Mercantile Library Association of New York was founded in 1820; a liberal gift from Philip Hone sufficed for the erection of a building in 1830. James G. Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York* (New York, 1893), III, 337.

57. Mordecai M. Noah, *Discourse on the Evidences of the American Indians Being the Descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel* (New York, 1837), pp. 37-40. On pp. 8-9, Noah lists seven arguments for the view he advocates, including belief in one God, computation of time from the New Moon, division of the year into four seasons (!), etc.

58. Jasper Chasseaud was United States Consul for Beirut, Damascus, and Said. His name appears in this position as early as 1835 and remains on the list through 1849 in *Register of Officers and Agents . . . in the Service of the United States*, various dates. See also, *Executive Journal*, IV, 454, 480, for Chasseaud's original appointment, and VIII, 130, for notice of his removal by President Zachary Taylor.

59. John Forsyth (1780-1841), see *DAB*, VI, 533; and Part Two, note 188.

60. "Voici ce que L'on trouve dans L'Auteur Latin 'Lucio Ferrajo', Tome 3me page 297. cet extrait est tire du Talmoud. L'Auteur vivait au gme Siecle de l'ere Chretienne.

"Les juifs doivent maudir trois fois par jours les Chretiens et demander a Dieu leur destruction et leur extermination ainsi que leur Rois et Gouvernements; Cette Loi s'applique plus particulierement aux Rabbins qui doivent dans leur prieres maudir Issa le Nazarien fils de Marie.

"Dieu permet aux juifs de s'emparer des biens des Chretiens de quelque maniere que se soit, par ruse, par Strategeme, par usure ou par vole. (1.)

"Les juifs doivent considerer les Chretiens comme etant des Betes ferores et des Animaux et les traiter en consequence. Ne fait ni bien ni mal aux idolatres, employez votre Zele, et votre connaissances pour detruir les Chretiens, et si l'un de nous rencontre un Chretien sur le bord d'un precipice il devra l'y precipiter et l'enfoncer d'avantage. (2.)

"Abhorez beaucoup plus les Rois Chretiens que les autres Rois, il vous est defendu de servir des Chefs Pagens, mais encore plus des Chefs Chretiens. (3.)

"Les Eglises Chretiennes contiennent l'erreur, leur Temples d'idolatrie tout juif doit les detruire; et comme les Evangiles sont la source du Crim et du peche, ils devront etre brules quoiqu'il y est parle de Dieu. (4.)

"(1.) Livre 1re Chapitre 1re Article 10 du Talmud

"(2.) .. Do .. 2d Do .. 4me .. Do .. 5 Do ...

"(3.) .. Do .. 1re Do .. 2d .. 5 .. Do Do ...

"(4.) .. Do .. 1re Do .. 1re .. Do .. Do Do ..."

For the identification of the original source and author of this passage, see the excellent note in Schappes, pp. 618-19.

61. Jasper Chasseaud to John Forsyth, Beyrout, March 24, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.

62. There is a brief summary of the Damascus Affair, *JE*, IV, 420. A fuller and excellent account that clarifies many of the allusions in these documents is to be found in H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, English

translation (Philadelphia, 1895), V, 632-62. *An Account of the Recent Persecution of the Jews in the East* (London, 1840), by D. Salomons, not only reports the events through the eyes of a contemporary but also indicates British reaction. Samples indicative of the American (non-Jewish) press reaction may be found in *Niles Weekly Register*, LVIII (1840), 226; *The Knickerbocker*, XVI (1840), 363; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, III, 24 (July 30, 1840), 4. There is a very brief discussion of the Damascus Affair in Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith, *With Firmness in the Right: American Diplomatic Action Affecting Jews, 1840-1945* (New York, 1946), pp. 3-5.

63. Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) rose quickly to wealth and retired in 1824, devoting the rest of his life to the service of the Jewish people in England and throughout the world. He was sheriff of London in 1837 and was knighted on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit to Guildhall in November of that year. See *DNB*, XIII, 725.

64. Henry John Temple, Third Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) headed the British Foreign Ministry from 1830 to 1851. He was one of the most distinguished British statesmen of the 19th century. See *DNB*, XIX, 496.

65. Andrew Stevenson (1784-1857) was nominated by President Jackson in 1834 as minister to Great Britain. He held this office until the Whig triumph in the election of 1840 led to the termination of his services in 1841. *DAB*, XVII, 630.

66. Gliddon served as United States Consul in Alexandria from 1835 until his death in 1844. See *Official Register*, various dates. It was of importance for Forsyth to communicate with Gliddon because Damascus, though in Syria, was under the administration of the Pasha of Egypt. See also, *Executive Journal*, IV, pp. 454, 455, 480, for Gliddon's appointment, and VI, 361, for nomination of his successor as U.S. Consul in Alexandria.

67. David Porter (1780-1843) was appointed minister to the Ottoman Empire in 1839. See *DAB*, XV, 83.

68. John Forsyth to John Gliddon, Washington, Aug. 14, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives. This is the official copy of the letter sent to Gliddon.

69. Martin Van Buren (1782-1862), eighth president of the United States, was elected in 1836. See Part Four, Documents 149 and 150, for political relations between Van Buren and American Jews. See also *DAB*, XIX, 152.

70. John Forsyth to David Porter, Washington, Aug. 17, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives. This is the official copy of the letter sent to Porter.

71. There are brief accounts of the New York meeting, in Pool, *Old Faith*, pp. 379-82, and Goldstein, *A Century of Judaism in New York*, pp. 64-66, 70-72. A contemporary report of the New York meeting ap-

peared as far away as the *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, III, 28 (Aug. 31, 1840), p. 2.

72. I. B. Kursheedt and Theodore J. Seixas to Martin Van Buren, New York, Aug. 24, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.

73. Israel Baer Kursheedt, see Part One, note 145.

74. Theodore J. Seixas (1803-82), a son of Gershom Mendes Seixas, was active in philanthropic affairs in the New York Jewish community. See Pool, *Old Faith, passim*; Grinstein, pp. 180, 421, 552.

75. John Forsyth to Jews of New York, Department of State, Washington, August 26th, 1840; MS., copy of letter sent, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.

76. Jasper Chasseaud.

77. John Gliddon.

78. David Porter.

79. *Persecution of the Jews in the East, containing the Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia, on Thursday Evening, the 28th of Ab, 5600, Corresponding with the 27th of August, 1840* (Philadelphia, 1840), pp. 3, 3-4, 9, 10, 16-18, 18-20. A lengthy account of the Philadelphia meeting, based upon this pamphlet, was published in Hebrew by Fabius Goldstoft, in his *Megillath Damesek* (Vienna, 1865), pp. 20-26. A translation of Goldstoft's account is available in Mendel Silver, *America in Hebrew Literature* (New Orleans, 1928), pp. 71-82. In the Hebrew section of Silver's work, pp. 36-44, the original section of Goldstoft's book is reprinted.

80. The list of officers includes old Sephardic names like Peixotto, Ashkenazic names familiar from the earlier history of Mikveh Israel, like that of Lewis Allen, and unfamiliar Ashkenazic names, presumably of more recent immigrants, like Louis Bomeisler (1790-1856), who came to the United States in 1819; see Stern, p. 20.

81. Abraham Hart (1810-85) was parnass of Congregation Mikveh Israel from 1841-76. See Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 53-58, and W. & W., pp. 352-53.

82. Here Abraham Hart read into the record a letter from the Elders of the Jewish Congregation at Constantinople to Messrs. De Rothschild of London, enclosing a translation of a Hebrew letter from the Jews of Damascus to the Elders of the Congregation at Constantinople and an extract from Reverend G. M. Peiritz of the Mission to the Jews in Jerusalem.

83. Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), distinguished British statesman of the nineteenth century, was named First Lord of the Treasury in 1841. *DNB*, XV, 655.

84. Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), Irish statesman, was a steady supporter of Lord Melbourne's government. See *DNB*, XIV, 816.

85. In Parliament of the United Kingdom, 1 Victoria (1837), which

was dissolved June 23, 1841, and was, therefore, the Parliament at the time of the Damascus Affair, one of Rutland County's representatives was Sir Gerard Noel-Noel, baronet, of Exton Park; on Sir Gerard's death, in 1838, he was succeeded by William Middleton Noel, of Ketton; when William M. Noel resigned to accept another political position, Charles George Noel, of Exton, replaced him January 28, 1840. See Great Britain, Parliament, 1878, *Accounts and Papers*, vol. XVII, part 2, p. 369. The reference here is, however, not to any of these, but probably to their relative, the Reverend Baptist W. Noel (1798-1873), one of the participants in the "Mansion House" Meeting of July 3, 1840. See Schappes, p. 207.

86. William Thompson, alderman of the City of London and Member of Parliament, shared with the Lord Mayor of London the chairmanship of the "Mansion House" Meeting. See Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews*, V, 656; Schappes, p. 206.

87. Adolphe Cremieux (1796-1880), statesman and lawyer, was the outstanding French spokesman for the political and social rights of the Jews during the nineteenth century. See S. Posener, *Adolphe Crémieux: A Biography*, trans. from French by Eugene Golob (Philadelphia, 1940), especially Chapter VI.

88. Henry W. Ducachet; McElroy's *Philadelphia Directory for 1837*, p. 60, lists Ducachet as living at 8 Girard St.

89. Henry L. Pinckney (1794-1863), editor, congressman, and mayor of Charleston. See *DAB*, XIV, 617. *Charleston Directory for 1829*, p. 71, lists Pinckney as editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, whose offices were at 123 E. Bay Street.

90. John England (1786-1842), see *DAB*, VI, 161.

91. Henry W. Ducachet to Hyman Gratz, Philadelphia, Aug. 21, 1840; as printed in *Persecution of the Jews in the East* (see this Part, note 79), pp. 20-21.

92. *Proceedings of a Public Meeting of the Citizens of Charleston, Held at the City Hall, on the 28th August, 1840, in Relation to the Persecution of the Jews in the East. Also, the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Israelites of Charleston, Convened at the Hall of the Hebrew Orphan Society, on the Following Evening, in Reference to the Same Subject* (Charleston, 1840), p. 7-8.

93. J. C. Levy, a merchant, whose business address was Edmonton's Wharf and whose residence was at 279 East Bay St. *Charleston Directory for 1829*, p. 59. He may be the Jacob C. Levy (1788-1875) who wrote for *The Southern Quarterly Review* of April, 1844, an article advocating Reform Judaism. See Reznikoff, pp. 292-93.

94. Abram Moise, Jr. (1809-52), was probably a son of Aaron and Sarah (Cohen) Moise. He was, for a time, cashier of the Bank of South Carolina. He married Abigail Louisa Lopez of the Newport family (see

Part Eight, Document 284) in 1835. He was referred to as "Junior" to distinguish him from his uncle Abraham (on whom see this Part, note 98).

95. *Proceedings of a Public Meeting* (see this Part, note 92), pp. 19, 19-20, 20-21, 23, 24-25. A full report, with substantially the same text, appeared in *The Southern Patriot*, Charleston, S.C., Aug. 31, 1840, and a marked copy was sent to the President and referred by him to the Secretary of State; the marked copy is available in RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.

96. See Part Five, note 1.

97. Aaron Moise, Senior (1783-1852), was the second child of Abraham Moise (1736-1809) and his wife Sarah, the original immigrants of that name to settle in Charleston. Aaron studied medicine, but there is no evidence that he practiced. He is listed in *Charleston Directory*, 1829, p. 65, as an accountant in the office of the *Courier*, residing on Church Street near Market Street. He is also known to have been cashier of the Bank of South Carolina. He was twice married; first to Miss Phila Cohen (1787-1805) who died two months after the marriage, and second, to her younger sister Sarah (1791-1828). Both were the daughters of Gershom Cohen of Kingston, Jamaica, who came to America in 1772. See Stern, p. 139.

98. Abraham Moise, Senior (1799-1869), seventh child of the original Abraham and Sarah Moise, was an attorney, admitted to the South Carolina Bar in 1822; he is listed in *Charleston Directory*, 1829, p. 65, as practicing from offices at 86 Tradd; he served as magistrate from 1842 to 1859; and was very active in the affairs of the Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston. See Reznikoff, *passim*; and Part Six, note 146.

99. J. C. Levy to Martin Van Beuren [sic], Charleston, Sept. 1, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives. Preamble and Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Israelites of Charleston, Aug. 29, 1840; MS., RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.

100. Richard Robert Madden (1798-1886), surgeon and author, an Irishman and a devout Roman Catholic, in 1840 accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore on his philanthropic visit to Egypt on behalf of the Jews of Damascus. See *DNB*, XII, 739. Madden wrote, on his return, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali* (London, 1841) which reports on Montefiore's mission.

101. This clause, setting up a committee of correspondence, is not included in the MS. copy of the resolutions sent by J. C. Levy to the President of the United States, and is supplied here from the printed version in *Proceedings of a Public Meeting* (as this Part, note 93), p. 23.

102. See Part Six, note 172.

103. *Persecution of the Jews in the East* (as this Part, note 79), p. 22.

104. A. H. Cohen, G. A. Myers, Samuel Marx, and Samuel H. Myers,

Committee to Martin Van Buren, Richmond, Sept. 4, 1840; as printed in Jacob Ezekiel, "Persecution of the Jews in 1840," *PAJHS*, VIII (1900), p. 145.

105. Abraham H. Cohen, see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

106. Samuel Marx (1796-1860), oldest son of Joseph and Richea Marx, was cashier of the Bank of Virginia; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, pp. 144, 303.

107. Gustavus A. Myers (1801-69), see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*, especially pp. 60-62.

108. Samuel H. Myers (1799-1849), see Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *passim*.

109. See Part Three, note 39.

110. See Part Three, note 162.

111. See Part Three, note 24.

112. Rebecca Gratz to Solomon Cohen, Philadelphia, Oct. 4, 1840; MS., University of North Carolina Library; printed here from photostatic copy in A.J.A.

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